







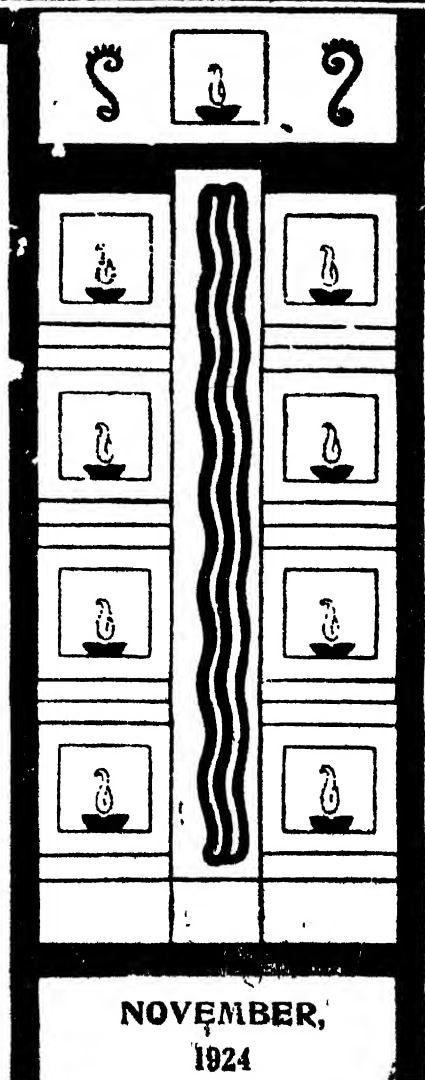






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NOVEMBER,  
1924

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## CONTENTS

	PAGE
BEAUTY IN INDIA—Lily S. Anderson	157
CHARLES G. DAWES—Arthur Macdonald, Congressional Apartments, Washington	171
DREAM AND TELEPATHY—Wilhelm Wrchovszky, Austria	189
INTERPRETATION OF BEHAVIOUR—Kshirodechandra Mookherjee, M.A., Lecturer, Dacca University	196
A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF KASHMIR—R. C. Kāk, Superintendent, Jammu	205
THE KAUTILIYA ARTHASASTRA, II ( <i>A Reply</i> )—Narendranath Law, M.A., Ph.D., Honorary Lecturer, Calcutta University	228
THE PANTHEISTIC ASPECT OF CHRISTIANITY—Rai Bahadur G. C. Ghosh	239
THE EMBASSY OF SIR WILLIAM NORRIS, _____ TO AURANGZEBE—Harihar Das, B. Litt., London	251
A RATIONALISTIC VIEW OF POESY, III—K. C. Sen, Deputy Magistrate ( <i>Rtd.</i> ), Madaripur	258
INDIA'S PLEA TO HER CHILDREN ( <i>Poem</i> ) Tarésa Strickland	278
RAJA RAM MOHAN ROY—Shambhoo Chander Dey, Hooghly	281
LETTERS OF SIR ASUTOSH	288
INDIAN BYWAYS: LITERARY AND PICTORIAL—A. H. Harley, M.A., I.E.S.	297
REPRESENTATION ( <i>Poem</i> )—Mohinimohan Chatterjee, M.A., B.L.	304
AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA, II—P. P. Pillai, B.A., Ph.D., (Geneva)	307
BENEDICTION ( <i>Poem</i> )—Lily S. Anderson	312
IMPRESSIONS OF SIMLA—S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A., B.C.L., Bar-at-Law, Lecturer, Calcutta University	313
FLESH AND LOVE ( <i>Poem</i> )—Mohinimohan Chatterjee, M.A., B.L.	320
KASHMIR ( <i>Pictorial</i> )	321
REVIEW:	
The Freedom of the Seas in History, Law and Politics—Taraknath Das, Ph.D.	325

# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

NOVEMBER, 1924



## BEAUTY IN INDIA

"Let her bathe every day, rubbing saffron on her body. Let her attire be clean, her eyelids tinged with antimony, and her forehead marked with red pigment. Let her hair be well combed and adorned. Thus shall she be like unto Lakshmi"—*Hindu Rule for Women*.

Beauty is not always in the eye of the beholder; it is more often a matter of geography. There is no fixed criterion of beauty, as the ideals of a people vary with environment. Not even the wildest stretch of the imagination could, to the Western eye, invest with beauty the tattooed Borneo Dyak; the clipped-haired, cicatriced Kanakas and Solomon Islanders; the excoriated clay-daubed-haired Fijians; the filed-toothed, wooly-haired, ear-distorted African, or a host of weirdly coiffured, disfigured savages from the primitive and outland spots of the world.

But here in India, a very ancient civilization has developed a type of beauty that attracts even critical Westerners, and all those capable of recognizing the charms of lovely figures, luxuriant hair, lustrous dark eyes, and cameolike features. There can be no standardization of beauty except in the fundamental principles of health, naturalness and cleanliness. Style of dress is a mere detail, adapting itself readily to the dictates of changing fashions and the demands of climate and custom.

“Knowledge is the health of the body, poverty is its plague, gaiety is its support and sadness makes it grow old.” This ancient Hindu aphorism was not only wise in its own generation, but is sane enough to apply to our own, and worthy of being adopted into a modern beauty formula. The condition of the mind governs the outward expression, and a cheerful disposition reflects a form of beauty which is glorified because it is spiritual.

Sadness, brooding, discontent and temper, relaxes the muscles of the face and develops lines and shadows that detract materially from any woman’s attractiveness, no matter how regular her features may be.

We may even go so far as to assert that beauty is a condition of mind, a quality of soul, a gracious philosophy which combined with health of the body creates a harmonious whole that transcends the mere ephemeral outlines of physical perfections.

Perhaps it is possible for us to gain something of value from a brief study of the lives of Hindu women, who, while dwelling in a world far removed from ours, have learned some things that might be of more use to the modern Western woman than the strenuous programmes of her daily life, her unrest, her ambitions, her effort to follow the dictates of changing fashions, and her determination to compete with man in all of his endeavours; to say nothing of the nervous reactions caused by an accumulation of discord in too-swift living.

Some of the extreme Hindu maxims might not appeal to our ideas of justice and equality, but they might appeal to our sense of humour.

“She (the wife) cannot lavish too much affection on the father-in-law, the mother-in-law and her husband. Before her husband let her words fall softly and sweetly from her mouth, and let her devote herself to pleasing him every day more and more.”—*Brahmin Commandment*.

But, first, let us understand something of the daily life of an Indian *Purdah* woman, before we pass judgment on her views of life, her submissiveness to her husband's will, and general self-effacement. I am crediting you with that rare quality of understanding things from the other person's view-point.

The "Purdahnashin," or women who follow the old Indian customs of life, as they have for many centuries, and who live in retirement from the world as we know it, are only doing what is to them quite the natural thing. The *Purdah* dates back to those bold, bad days when predatory invaders swept down upon India from the borders, and it was considered a measure of vital safety to screen the women and secure them from intrusion. The Mohamedans follow the same custom, even more strictly, and one never sees the face of an orthodox Muslim woman in public as she is completely swathed and disguised in a large cloak of white, head and all covered from view. She looks like a materialized ghost wandering about and one often wonders what oriental beauties are hidden from our sight. On the other hand the disguise may be a blessing!

It is only the low-caste and outcast women who walk uncovered, before men, or who mingle with people on terms of equality and freedom. The exceptions are in the minority and deal with the modernized and Europeanized Indians who have been educated here or in England, and who have absorbed, as much as possible, of the ideals and standards of Occidental civilization. These few women, however, are not to be taken as typical of old India of Hindu orthodoxy, and while they may act as an entering wedge towards changing ancient customs, and their composite influence bring about modernizing results, it will be many years yet before India *en masse* discards the *Purdah* system. Naturally, the chief opponents in this measure will be the men themselves, for India is a land where the men have always made the laws, and the women followed them!

But it is a fact that on the whole the women of India are contented with the immemorial customs of the *Purdah*, and while their lives seem narrow and constricted to us, there are compensations in the old régime. The ideal Indian woman believes that "devotion to her lord (husband) is woman's honour, it is her eternal Heaven" (*Mahabharata*).

Also that "if a wife obeys her husband, she will for that reason alone be exalted in heaven" (*Karpura Manjari*). We are not to think from these one-sided maxims that Indian women are zeros in their own homes. Far from it. One of the chief slogans of women in this country is "Marriage, Motherhood and Power in the Home, for what else is she born"? She has a tremendous influence in the domestic life of the family, on her children and husband. The women of India are "life-givers," teachers and guardians of the spiritual welfare of the young. They are the power "behind the throne" whose influence grows with their maturity. The old mother is venerated and treated with respect by all.

A well-known Indian writer has said that the Women of the West are concerned with *Rights* and the Women of the East with *Duty*. Hundreds of generations of customs have evolved a caste individuality rather than an individual ego. Hinduism is more than a religion; it is an attitude of mind. The divisions of ideas and opinions are fatal to caste; therefore, personal independence, or differences as to the ethics of life, or custom, or even beauty are not encouraged.

The average Indian woman knows little of our so-called "parlour accomplishments"; she has no superficial attainments or talents. There are few "dilettanti" among the feminine element. The arts are taken, if at all, very seriously. Even a dancing girl devotes her life to dancing.

But if Indian women lack the numerous little accomplishments that are considered so charming among Western women, they do not lack the charm of femininity, which is a very different thing from Feminism. Modesty is the bed-rock

of all virtues. "She is courteous in her mind, with shyness shall her face be bright; of all the beauties of the body, none is more shining than shyness."

To be beautiful for her home, her children, her husband, is the be-all and end-all of life. Should she be fair to her "Lord," she is content. And in contemplation of this fact, we realize that this is the crux of the matter, and herein lies the great contrast between the standards of the East and West. Would the average modern American or English girl be satisfied to beautify herself, and wear lovely clothes merely to please her immediate family? Is she contented with only a husband's admiration? Preposterous thought! Yet so it is in India. Of course, these remarks do not apply to the low-caste and outcast professional Nautch girl who enjoys all the freedom she desires to the loss of her reputation.

Beauty may be divided, largely, into two classes; those who come under the head of respectability and the "Purdah-nashin"; and those who belong to that great sisterhood which forms the oldest profession in the world. And under this last head comes the famous Nautch girl, the temple dancers and courtesans whose name is legion. Naturally the demands in their profession cause them to devote special care to the art of personal adornment, and many are the artifices they employ.

The daily formula of beauty in India begins with a bath, which with the good Hindu is more than a bath; it is a purification, and a rite attended with ceremony and prayer. Cleanliness is not always next to godliness, especially in the East where so-called Holy-men wander in filthy and mud-daubed nudity; but the forms of bathing are religious laws which are followed in prescribed fashion in orthodox families.

After bathing the body it is anointed with oils, cocoanut, palm, or oils in which some favourite scent, such as rose or jasmine, has been infused. Even acrid and pungent mustard oil is in great favour, although it is an offence to the oilfactories. It is considered very wholesome to give the body a

thorough oil-massage, flexing the muscles and rendering them more supple. This oil is also applied copiously to the hair, which is combed, not brushed, and perfumed with one's favourite scent.

Sandal-wood oil is popular for the hair and also for the foundation of perfume. The skins of Indian women, if well tended, present a smooth satin-like appearance which is graceful to the sight.

The finger-tips, hands and feet are stained with henna; the eyelids and brows darkened with kohl or antimony lending a languishing and mysterious beauty to the eyes and increasing the size in effect. The eyebrows are sometimes joined by an artificial line, following an old custom, which however, does not add anything to the attractiveness of the face, from our view-point.

Even the use of cosmetics is governed by custom. In India the women use the equivalent of our paint, powder, rouge and eye-pencil, and it is considered an everyday part of the toilet.

Some Indians use powdered saffron, which is yellow and brightens up the complexion, on the same principle as we use "Poudre Rachel," rose, white or "naturelle."

The eyelids are darkened with antimony and kohl, and the hands and feet are stained with henna. It is not used by the Hindus on the hair, but some orthodox Mohamedans dye their beards with it!

The favoured perfumes are musk, sandalwood, *attar* of rose, amber and essences distilled from the *Champa* (frangipani), the flower of *Kama*, the God of Love; and the *bael* flower (jasmine), sacred to *Vishnu*. Perfumes are used in profusion and produce a sensuous and heady effect desirable in the East.

Indian women have no need to conform to changing styles. There is no change in modes for them: Custom and Costumes have remained fixed for hundreds of years. Fashion

does not make the mode here, and the old style of dress so long in vogue in India is perfectly adapted to the types of beauty and body. They are well chosen to show off the flowing lines of colourful draperies, the graceful arrangement of body and head-covering and the profusion of rich jewellery which gives the correct finishing touch to an oriental toilet.

Should an Indian woman be so unwise as to adopt the styles of Western dress she will only succeed in making a caricature of herself. There can be no compromise between the styles of the East and West, and any attempt in that direction only leads to ludicrous failure. How much more lovely and graceful are the undulating lines of the *saris*, designed in a multitude of handsome fabrics, embroidered, brocaded, woven and shot with silver and gold threads, and running the gamut of the rainbow in pure and beautiful colours. How charming a foil for the old-ivory and dusky complexions of the wearer.

When Mark Twain was in India, he paid a glowing tribute to the beautiful costumes and graceful carriage of Indian women. They have never known the constrictions of the body caused from wearing tight corsets, shoes and garments cut in intricate and sometimes deforming lines. Their walk is free, lithe, dignified and as gracile as a young larch in a spring wind.

It would be very difficult for any Westerner to emulate the naturally smooth and sinuous gait of even the most humble cooly-women. Generations of balancing water jars and bundles on their heads have straightened and strengthened the spine and given them an upright carriage. A natural and healthy erectness is independent of corsets, braces and supporters and the natural lines of the body, though unconfined, are beautifully normal.

The Indian *Sari*, while unchanging in form, is developed in many varieties of colour and fabric. I have seen a dance-gown of a Nautch girl literally weighted down with gold



embroidery, jewels and small mirrors. The colours are graded exquisitely and blended with a natural skill, and the old native vegetable dyes can give some very beautiful shades, from pasteles to flamboyancy, the crescendo of the colour tone scale.

A *Sari*, the national costume of the Hindu, consists of about six yards of material, which when wound around the body, creates at once a petticoat, a skirt, a waist and a head-covering. The *Sari* is draped with a deftness and grace that would fill with envy the most ultra *modiste* on the Rue de la Paix or Fifth Avenue. The whole effect, seemingly so difficult of accomplishment, is achieved in a casual, natural and almost instinctive manner that compels our admiration. The result is charming, a complete and lovely garment, following the same unbroken lines of drapery and beauty that was so dear to the heart of the old Greeks.

Indians love ornaments and jewellery of every description. Ear-rings of every size and shape are eternally in vogue; rings and pendants, jewels-studded, chased and filigreed in gold and silver, copper or brass, meet the limits of every pocket-book. And they are extremely becoming. The Indian woman does not limit herself to wearing only one pair of ear-rings at a time but on special occasions, wears as many as five or six pairs. The outside of the ears are sometimes pierced in a succession of small holes, although it is more usual to have one large hole punched in the lobe, sufficiently ample to accommodate several pairs of ear-rings at once. The cartilage of the nostril is also pierced as a great many castes wear a jewelled nose-stud or nose-ring, which, strange to say, looks quite attractive.

Necklaces are worn in infinite variety. Even the poorest cooly-woman is seldom seen without a chain, or several chains, of coral or blue beads, or some bright imitation stone. Some of the North-Indian women wear all their worldly fortune around their necks; a chain of rupees and eight-anna pieces which is added to as opportunity affords.

India is the home of pearls, diamonds and magnificent jewels. The state costumes of a wealthy Rajah transcend description, and the ceremonial robes of the Ranees are no less gorgeous. Ropes of pearls, emeralds, rubies, sapphires and every imaginable coloured gem vie with each other in oriental splendour, and some of the diamonds are of enormous size. Of course, there are gradations of jewels according to the financial status of the wearer, but almost every Indian has jewels of sorts. They are usually combined with what seems to us outré effect, and yet when worn with the old world costumes of rich and brilliant colour and texture, they seem perfectly harmonious.

Ornate pendants are much in favour; head ornaments of all kinds, from single stones to chains and fillets of gold and silver with jewelled drops. Rings of every imaginable variety adorn all the fingers of the Indian. An especially large ring is designed for the thumb, and there are rings in decreasing size, for all the other digits; not forgetting, of course, the toe-rings which are much in favour with dancing girls. Anklets too, of gold, silver and brass clink around the instep of the Indian woman as she walks. Some castes wear enormous anklets that appear to bear down the body with their weight. The Nautch girls sometimes wear little bells on their anklets and so "have music wherever they go."

A profusion of jewellery denotes, if not wealth, at least worldly possessions, and in India one grows quite accustomed to see all kinds of ornaments worn by both sexes. Girdles of linked metal, jewelled and ornamented, decorate the waist, and head-bands of beautiful designs sit proudly on the dark head of the wearer. In fact, there is no end to the varieties of jewels that adorn the bodies of the Eastern women. And indeed they would appear very incompletely costumed to us, devoid of ornaments. For untold centuries the people of the Orient have developed the art of jewel-making, and as custom

has demanded the use of such personal decorations, there is no danger of a decline in the jewel-market.

Besides all the jewels and ornaments considered necessary in the completion of the Indian ladies' toilette, the caste-mark is added as a finishing touch; a circle of red or yellow pigment placed in the centre of the forehead. It is a mark of good breeding, and instead of looking barbaric, it gives much the same effect as the beauty-patch of the Pompadour Period. It is *piquante* and pleasing and suits the brunette type.

As there is no change in costumes and jewellery, the *modiste* and jeweller do not need to perpetually create new styles to stimulate trade. The beautiful designs and fabrics have lived through the centuries, and although there is a great variety of material to choose from, the bases of design remain the same.

The arts of personal adornment and physical charm are well understood in India. The two chief motives of an Indian woman's life are to please her husband and do her duty to *Thakur* (God), which is to breed children to perpetuate the race, especially sons. This is her *raison d'être*. The only moral crime in India is to be a virgin, or unmarried woman, and this is the primary reason for the custom of child marriages. A woman is not considered a full-fledged Hindu until she becomes married. A childless woman is a reproach and a shame to herself and others. But saddest of all is the lot of widows. Hopeless, disgraced, shorn of ornaments and hair, she wanders throughout the miserable length of her days, an outcast, or at best the slave and servant of her family. This cruel attitude to the Indian widow is one of the most difficult things to understand and to forgive. How different the creed of Christendom: "To visit the widows and fatherless in their affliction." And how different the standard for those widows who do not consider themselves afflicted! Re-marriage is forbidden by the

Brahmin law for a woman, but a man may do as he likes. Verily this is a man's country. In the old days, as you know, widows burned themselves on the funeral pyre of their dead husbands. Now that barbarous custom has been abolished, her lot has in no way been lightened, other than that she escapes immolation. Sometimes, I am sure, an Indian widow would rather be dead than live out hopeless years, blamed as it were for something she could not control.

For Hindus the laws of religion dominate every action of life, customs, costumes, cosmetics and conduct. And thus even the rules of beauty are as fixed as the planetary system.

In reviewing the various phases of costuming and the uses of cosmetics, I have avoided any mention of the teeth, because, alas, in India they do not shine like pearls as a rule. The almost universal use of pân, a preparation of betelnut, lime and pân-leaf, has stained the teeth, tongue and mouth a deep crimson, that is very revolting in appearance. Unfortunately, the use of this discolouring stuff is said to be good for the digestion, and with that excuse to go on, all and sundry succumb to a very ugly habit. This pân is wrapped up in a three-cornered leaf and thrust into the cheek where it bulges like a nut in a squirrel's jaw, until continued mastication gradually reduces the size of the protuberance. It is the cud of India, which she chews with the assiduity of a cow. The worst part about it is that pân is chewed like tobacco, with the same juicy result, which is expectorated in sanguinary streams, sometimes indiscriminately. The lower castes and classes are particularly given to this evil habit.

We have seen how the male dominates the situation in India, but we must admit, that, on the whole, the Indian woman seems contented with her lot. Perhaps she does not want any other. However, we enlightened Westerners, who go about with uncovered faces, consorting familiarly with

men, not our husbands, occupy about the same position in their minds as do the Sudras, the lowest caste in India, who sprung from the feet of *Brahma*! In fact, we are hopelessly outcasted by the women of the *Purdahnashin* of the old school. The Hindu maxim which says "there are three kinds of persons who are well received everywhere—a gallant warrior, a learned man, and a pretty woman," is not referring to *Purdah* women, but the ladies of easy virtue, who walk where they list.

In closing, I should like to give two contrasting morning greetings in the East and West and let you draw your own conclusions.

*An Eastern Morning :*

*The Husband (with magnanimous condescension)—*

"Thou resemblest thy name to-day, O *Gulab* (rose) mine."

*The Wife (humbly)—*

"O gracious Lord, thy poor slave's heart is made to rejoice at thy praise."

*A Western Morning :*

*The Wife (crossly)—*

"Late to breakfast as usual, well don't blame me if the coffee is cold."

*The Husband (attempting conciliation)—*

"I am sorry my dear. Ahem !.....You are looking as fresh as a rose to-day !"

*The Wife (last word forever)—*

"Humph ! No thanks to you. You and your poker party kept me awake till two o'clock this morning !"

In a brief review of the ideals of beauty in the East, I think that the most outstanding points to remember are that an Indian woman is wrapped up in her domestic life, in her desire to please her husband, be a good mother and be beautiful

because that, too, is a duty. The comparisons in this case are impossible, for the standards are entirely different, and the East and West have little in common in their social angle.

There are many admirable points in an Indian woman's philosophy and ideals of life. We might do worse than to study her repose, her contentment of outlook, her modesty, piety and calm indifference to the changing world about her. Her reach does not exceed her grasp ; she is not tortured by ambitions ; she is in no danger of becoming a " blue-stocking," or a bobbed-haired " flapper " ; she is not a flirt nor a coquette, nor is she " mannish " in style or temperament ; she is not bent on athletics, but leads a quiet life bound within the limits of her home which is her all. The ideal woman in India is " Sita," the heroine of the *Ramayana*, India's great Epic poem, who shared all the vicissitudes of banishment and unhappy wanderings with her loved husband, Rama, and who was exalted thereby above all women.

It has been my good fortune to meet many types of Indian women, both behind the *Purdah*, and in the everyday walks of life, and I desire to pay tribute to their kindness, hospitality, simplicity and charming naivete, animated by a childlike interest in the affairs of the visitor. They stand for the power in the home, that great unseen force that dominates the characters and development of the future daughters and sons. Indeed the women of India are the builders of the future and on them rather than the men, rests the responsibility of the spiritual welfare of this great nation in the making.

In a composite of beauty I should undoubtedly point out the charms of satiny skins, dark and expressive eyes, full red lips, lustrous and luxuriant hair, naturally lovely lines and curves of features and bodies. But there is a still greater beauty, and it is with this more lasting form that I would leave you.

Loveliness is of the soul ; an inward light that shines through the flesh, like the flame that illuminates the alabaster

bowl ; beauty that, softly luminous and clear, invests the whole lamp of the body with living light that is enduring. Only that beauty which is from within is recognized as the same the world over, East or West. The qualities of character that make for beautiful thoughts, high ideals and wholesome philosophy, whether Oriental or Occidental and whatever race or creed, give the same ennobling touch of immortality. The externals may differ, but after all, we are the creatures of change, the slaves of time, and the victims of fleshly decay.

“ Each morn a thousand roses bring you say,  
Yes, but where blooms the rose of yesterday ” ?

Only that beauty which comes from within is everlasting. Beauty of the soul as well as of the body may be cultivated, and it is only in the combination of the two that we may find perfection here on earth.

LILY SRICKLAND-ANDERSON

## CHARLES G. DAWES

*(The Republican Nominee for the Vice-Presidency.)*

In all my life of study, one of my main purposes has been to apply scientific methods to political and sociological subjects, as far as it is possible. It is with this idea, that I present a study of Charles G. Dawes, similar to the one on President Coolidge, recently made by me.

In the study of man from a moral point of view, an individual is important to the community, in the degree that he adds to it, more than he takes from it, and from the scientific point of view, man may be estimated not only by great deeds done and high offices held, but by his mental products. We, therefore, invite the reader's careful attention to the life and aphorisms of Charles G. Dawes.

### *Dawes—A Conservative Progressive.*

The life and ideas of Charles G. Dawes show him to be a conservative progressive, when he says in one of his writings : "*To whom shall we listen ? To the radical altogether ? No. In part, yes. To the Conservative altogether ? No. In part, yes.*" (See Aphorisms Nos. 11 and 12.)

This statement of Dawes is the essence of conservative progressivism, the road to success in finance and statesmanship. It is the keynote to practical progressivism ; that is progressive to such an extent, that it is carried out successfully ; that is, a progressivism, which does not produce such a reaction, as to be stopped by the environment, and still further set back. Doubtless there are many reforms, with which we all sympathise, but under present conditions they are most improbable, if not impossible.



*Conservative Progressivism, the Golden Mean.*

The term "progressive" in politics, may mean any degree, from conservatism to extreme socialism, if not anarchy. Successful business men are regarded as conservative, but they hardly could be successful, without being progressive, for the word progress is the root meaning of progressive, and connotes the idea of success. In fact, great business firms are progressive, but conservatively so. Otherwise they might fail and go into bankruptcy. In short, the history, not only of business but of our country, is one of conservative progressivism. Here the dominant idea is the golden mean. Thus we have two Houses of Congress, one nearest the people, and the other to counteract any excessiveness. It is a wise compromise which our fathers made, and has proved to be the golden mean in enacting laws in the most successful country of the world. In fact, almost all successful legislation is a compromise (see Aphorism No. 106). In all serious and honest difference of opinion in life, where action is required, compromise is necessary, and the most lasting and honourable compromise is that which follows the golden mean. Moreover, nature herself is progressive, but conservatively so, science the same. Once in a while an extreme thing succeeds, but here also the preparation for it may have gone on unobserved. It is said the little chick, just out of the egg, hits the cornel of corn in the first effort. But the chick, when in the egg, had been previously picking at the shell, in order to get out.

*Life of Dawes.*

Charles Gates Dawes was born in Marietta, Ohio, August 27, 1865. He is the son of General Rufus R. Dawes, who commanded the famous Iron Brigade of Wisconsin in the Civil War, and was cited for distinguished service in the battle of Gettysburg. Dawes, like Coolidge, is of Puritan stock, his

ancestry running back to William Dawes, who came to America in 1628, and was well known in Salem and Boston. One of his brothers, Beeman Dawes of Columbus, Ohio, was a member of the 59th and 60th Congresses. A study of the family ancestry will show a distinguished hereditary strain. Dawes graduated from Marietta College in 1884 at the age of 19. He entered the Cincinnati Law School, graduating in 1886. During his college years, he helped pay his expenses, as Chief Engineer on a small railroad in Ohio.

In 1886 he went to Lincoln, Nebraska, and entered the law partnership of Dawes, Coffroth and Cunningham which became a leading firm of public utility counsellors in the State. He became interested in gas plants and developed some large enterprises in several western states. He went to Wisconsin and remained there awhile as President of the Lacrosse Gas Light Company. Finally, he moved to Evanston, Illinois, where he has since resided. As he may preside over the Senate, it might be interesting to know the difference between the hot air that comes from the Senate Chamber and the hot air outside. I asked a veteran Senate guard one hot summer day, and he said that the hot air from the Senate had gas in it.

### *Dawes in Politics.*

Dawes entered politics in 1896, when he succeeded in having the Illinois Delegation in the Republican Convention instructed for McKinley. In recognition of this, Mark Hanna, the Senator from Ohio, had him made a member of the Republican National Executive Committee. He was prominently mentioned for the Senate in 1920, but refused to enter the race. On June 21, 1921, Dawes notified President Harding that he would accept the position of Director of the Bureau of the Budget. Nothing would have tempted him into public life again, except a new and great undertaking with a good chance of success.

Prior to his inauguration, President Harding had discussed with Dawes the position of Secretary of the Treasury, but it had no attractions for him, after he found that officially, he would not be charged with the work which he was doing under the Budget law. Dawes did not expect his nomination for the Vice-Presidency, for in his few remarks he made at Marietta, he says ;

“ The placing of my name before the Convention and the subsequent nomination were a complete surprise ;”.....“ You have heard of the Convention’s actions and you can easily understand that I did not expect the nomination, but it has come, and I have gratefully accepted it, resolved that whatever it entails, I will do my best.”

### *Dawes in Humanitarian Work.*

One practical phase of scientific humanitarian work, is to avoid, as far as possible, giving directly to the needy as we do to beggars, thus developing in the unfortunate the beggarly spirit. To avoid such a dangerous tendency, the idea is to develop thrift and make the recipient feel he is earning his living, and is not an object of charity.

The Rufus F. Dawes Hotel is an illustration of this principle. It was established by Dawes in memory of his son, Rufus F. Dawes, who was drowned in Lake Geneva, Wisconsin. The idea of this hotel was to provide men with accommodations at reasonable figures but with lower charges. It assumes its guests are gentlemen and appreciate gentlemanly treatment ; that is, the management is not solicitous as to the mental state, religious belief, or daily occupation of the guests, a large deficit was expected, but it did not occur. In the first year’s operation, about 1,70,000 men were lodged and 59,000 fed, and employment found for 1,570.

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*Dawes as a Financier and Business Man.*

Dawes' book on the Banking System of the United States, published in 1894, made him regarded as an authority on finance and economics (see Aphorisms on Banks, Nos. 43 to 61). This work was instrumental in his being appointed Comptroller of the Currency in 1898. He gave up this office in 1901, and organized the Central Trust Company of Illinois becoming Chairman of its Board of Directors.

Dawes in the preface of his book called himself a business man, to whom his dealings with banks in ordinary course of business, had suggested preparing a work on the Banking System of the United States.

*Dawes' War Record.*

The moment we entered the war, Dawes volunteered for the front and went to France in an engineer regiment. He had become acquainted with Pershing when he was military instructor at the University of Nebraska. He was made purchasing agent for the American Expeditionary Force, with the rank of Brigadier General and soon after was appointed to the military board of allied supply where he showed himself fully efficient in his work. There were no precedents to guide, but by his business experience, native intelligence, energy and resourcefulness, he brought order out of a labyrinth of difficulties. His conduct as a "rookie" soldier gave him renown among his friends. After he returned to the United States, he was awarded the Distinguished Service Medal; the Order of Leopold and Commander of Legion d'Honneur. When called before an investigating Committee of Congress at Washington, he defended the American Expeditionary Forces, when he said, "there are too many pin-heads (see Aphorism, No. 27) throwing mud," with an explosion of his famous "hell'n Maria." "If you men would spend more

time trying to stem the millions of waste going on under your noses, we would have a hell of a lot better government.” “Helen Maria,” which he repeated several times in his testimony before the Committee, was an expletive associated with his name; for years he was referred to by his friends, as “Helen Maria Dawes.”

*Director of Bureau of the Budget.*

Dawes in June of 1921 was appointed as the First Director of the Budget, with the understanding, that he would resign at the end of the fiscal year. As in the army experience, he made contemporaneous notes of progress of the work and plans: these have been published. This work outlines: (1) the revision of the estimates and the presentation of the Budget to Congress, and (2) the re-organization of the routine business of government through the use by the President of the Budget Bureau, as an agency of executive pressure (see Aphorisms, Nos. 108-116). Dawes super-imposed in France a system of business co-ordination over the decentralized services in the army. Through his experience, he felt justified in undertaking an analogous task under President Harding, to inaugurate a system of co-ordinating business control over the various Departments and Independent Establishments of the Government, which for one hundred and thirty two years have been almost completely decentralized. Having served his country so well abroad, his services at home have been no less distinguished, being the founder and director of the Budget system (see Aphorism No. 112), which has saved hundreds of millions to the United States.

*Chairman of the Reparation Commission.*

His next appointment was as head of the committee of experts sent to Europe, to determine Germany's ability to pay reparations (see Aphorisms, Nos. 114-120).

At the opening of the experts' conference in Paris, Dawes made a characteristic and straightforward talk. He said he could not speak officially for the United States, but "only as an individual." He also spoke of "the incessant misrepresentations and intolerable interjections of those foul and carrion-loving vultures the nationalistic demagogues of all countries—who would exploit their pitiful personalities out of common misfortune" (see Aphorism, No. 27). He added: "Let us first help Germany to get well." Some of the experts wanted to go slow on the job and play golf several days of the week. Dawes objected in these words: "When we have something important to accomplish in America, we work mornings, afternoons, evenings and nights, and do not take time off to play golf or anything else." The results he accomplished in his war experience were a scientific foundation as a financier for his success as leader of the Reparation Commission. Dawes has acquired international fame as an efficient, far-sighted and energetic man.

### *Characteristics of Dawes.*

To illustrate Dawes' fairness, he once earnestly advocated the insurance of bank deposits, which would lessen withdrawals in times of panics. But when he became Comptroller of the Currency in 1898, he studied this question again, and found he could not support his former views. His former views would have been popular, having many superficial advantages, but a uniform rate of taxation would be unjust, for the rate should vary with the risk, according to the principles of insurance.

His broad views are shown, when he was urged in a Congressional hearing, to speak of the bank of which he was president; he replied, that it was of no interest to the country as to whether his bank would avail itself of the privileges proposed; that he desired to speak with reference to the interests of the country as a whole.

At the commencement exercises of Marietta College, he made some remarks, applying some of the ideas in his Aphorisms, which I have compiled and placed at the end of this study. He said: "The world and this country need leadership enough to face the crowd and fight for an unpopular truth (see Aphorisms, Nos. 5, 6, 7). "Our fathers of the north-west need the truth, rather than the honeyed cure-all promises of the quack politicians."

Dawes is a many-sided man. He is a financier, banker, lawyer and author. He is musically inclined, composing a "Melody in A Major," recently published. He is no trimmer, weasel words are not his; he has strong convictions, makes up his own mind, and speaks without fear or favour. He will say what ought to be said, without regard to its political effect, or the popular mood of the moment. Dawes is a product of Americanism of the West, as Coolidge is of New England. Both are of good stock, a basis for solid achievement. He has gained his place in an American manner, by intelligence, energy and character. What he thinks he says and with force, there is no mistaking his meaning. Dawes, like Roosevelt, goes whole-heartedly into whatever he undertakes. He is one hundred per cent. American, with such genuine patriotism as caused him to lay aside all business and other ties and with great enthusiasm plunge into the war. His executive ability was evident. His efficiency, energy and especially optimism had great influence upon those whom he met in the allied armies. The same characteristics were influential on the Reparation Committee of Experts, which with him as Chairman, worked the great plan of adjusting the reparations, by stabilizing German finances and industry. If the plan succeeds, as now seems probable, it means peace in Europe, due to the financial efficiency of Charles G. Dawes, as much as any other factor, and makes him one of the distinguished men of the world.

## DAWES' APHORISMS.

1. A man can be a complete Christian gentleman, without being a prig, without failing to be a good fellow and without bending to debasing environment.
2. Inactive men and inert things do not interest others in this rushing day.
3. I am never a sympathizer with a postponement of the correction of an evil.
4. The natural leader while he keeps his head, keeps his eyes only on the runners in front, and not on the multitude behind; that is why the truly great are so often humble
5. We do not seem to have many with that courage of statesmanship, which stands against that which is wrong, when it is unpopular to do so. Thus
6. It is not the highest test of strength to lead aroused public sentiment, but the highest test is to oppose it, when it is wrong.
7. A President loves popularity, and yet the President, who does right must at times risk its temporary loss.
8. No moral victory is ever easy or ever accidental.
9. My father's constant and consistent teaching to his children was, that above all things in the world—above wealth, above fame, above pleasure—must be placed character. For
10. In a man's character is his real career.

*Our Country.*

11. If our Government is to last, the people of the United States must voice their ultimate conviction in vital matters. And
12. To whom shall we listen? To the radical altogether? No. In part, yes. To the conservative, altogether? No. In part, yes.
13. We are all of us—or should be to some extent politicians, but we are first American citizens.
14. I was so homesick, when I came home from Europe once, until I saw the Fire Island Light House, and realized what was behind it; it then seemed, as if I would not tread three square miles of it, for the whole continent of Europe.



15. When a nation becomes prosperous, it becomes critical. (Personally I have very little use for the critic.) Yet we need criticism, that is to tear down, for the purpose of building up afterwards. But such
17. Critics must bear the lash, for it is the doers and not the drones, who attract people's attention.
18. Much criticism is useful, but much of it is exceedingly harmful to the public good.
19. The ever living question in a republic is the relation of the centralization of power to the diffusion of power.
20. In danger to our country true patriotism is to try to avoid it, rather than to wait in an unreal and fancied security until danger has become disaster.
21. The growth of American commerce and manufacture has helped to make our country the happiest and best land in the world. And
22. Our people believe that these questions can be settled in a manner, which will not hinder commercial and national progress, and that they can be protected without backward steps in social development. So
23. Let this great problem be settled by the optimist and statesman, rather than by the pessimist and demagogue.

*Government.*

So far as right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness are concerned all men are created equal, but

24. A government makes a man free only in so far as his freedom does not interfere with or infringe upon similar rights to other men. For
25. Liberty to the individual is not inconsistent with the control over him of the government, under which he lives.
26. It is not a question of what is best theoretically in life, but what is best at the time being, considering the rights and the opinions of others who have a voice in the government.
27. When there floats into the government service a new chief, a puffed-up political appointee full of ambition, conceit and desire to impress his little pitiful personality upon the country and without knowledge tells a veteran officer how .

to conduct things, there is a universal look of disappointment, if not despair, familiar to experienced chiefs.

28. A nation is like the individual, subject to the same laws and offered by his Creator the same inducements for sobriety and industry.
29. The great desideratum in government for any people, is that form, which will bring the greatest good to the greatest number, by insuring to the individual his inalienable rights.

#### *Business.*

30. In the management of all business, there must be centralization of responsibility and power.
31. In business, what will probably happen in the future is what has usually happened in the past. For no history repeats itself quite so exactly as financial history.
32. Where business is done largely upon a credit basis the cycle is first a panic; second, industrial stagnation and low prices; third, reviving confidence, higher prices and increase in business activity; and fourth, speculation; overproduction, overcapitalization, excessive borrowing, until the first condition, such as a security panic is again starting. This cycle occurs in the United States about once in ten years, but more severe panics occur every twenty years (1818, 1837, 1857, 1873, 1893).
33. In business, the world is hard, has always been so, and always will be.

#### *Money.*

34. Fluctuations in money supply, have as direct an effect on prices, as fluctuations in the demand for and supply of any article.  
Thus
35. As prices rise and fall, so do the hopes and wealth of the business man.
36. The great desideratum in the money is, that its purchasing and debt-paying power remain as stable as possible.
37. If the price of labour, through an enhancement in money, falls, the price of other commodities falls, but if it rises through a depreciation in the standard, the prices of other commodities rise also.

38. The preparation of bank-credit money in business is ordinarily over ten times the amount of cash money.
39. When does money become more valuable and goods less valuable than in a panic, when there is a run on the banks? For
40. When deposits are withdrawn, the value of the dollar increases and the prices of commodities go down.
41. History shows, that currency inflation is followed by speculation, in which bubbles of credit are blown, only to burst and bring a panic.
42. No man lives, no government exists, which can devise an absolutely equitable currency system.

*Banks.*

43. The service of banks to the community is most important, and yet most commonly ignored. Because
44. The exact relations of our banking system to the business prosperity and money of the United States do not seem to be fully comprehended by our people. For
45. There can be no proper understanding of the monetary problems of the day, unless the relation of the bank-credit money of the country to the money of the Government is fully comprehended.
46. While a bank is viewed as a private corporation organized for profit, it also may be considered as a public corporation, whose officers serve the business community. Thus
47. The profits of a bank are smaller than those of any other private corporation dealing with the community as a whole, and
48. The banks are the creators of the great bulk of money used by the business community. Also
49. The bank serves enterprising citizens who borrow money to carry on industries, upon which many depend for a living. Thus
50. The bank takes small amounts from numerous persons, and places their money in the hands of those, who may make best use of it; otherwise it would be idle capital.
51. The bank is a clearing house, enabling, by the check system, a community to carry on business without the risk and trouble of handling large sums of money.
52. To not a few, the banks act as book-keepers, and furnish information as to the reliability of prospective customers.

53. Every national bank in the United States is considered on a safe basis, when it has on hand in cash and on deposit 25 per cent. of the amount of its total deposits.
54. The federal reserve banks were designed to relieve us from an inelasticity and not a dearth of currency.
55. Through the instrumentality of bank examiners, institutions have been protected from grave danger of insolvency.
56. Credit is built up by the banks, which constitutes the foundation of the circulating medium of the country. For ninety-five per cent. of our business is transacted by checks and drafts.
57. No bank note system is inherently fair, which creates a preference of the note-holder over the deposit-holder, in the distribution of the assets of an insolvent bank.
58. Under normal conditions there is no need of a large amount of emergency circulation, or a high degree of elasticity in bank-note circulation.
59. The banking power of the United States (1908) is nearly forty per cent. of the total banking power of the whole world.
60. We have built our banking system from the bottom up; not from the top down.
61. We have built up our banking system, different from continental Europe. For, we have unique conditions, a unique country and the unique theory, that it is the right of the small institution and the small business man to protection, resulting in our marvellous commercial and banking growth.
62. Upon no other one agency does the prosperity of our people more depend than upon our banking system, which is a part of the web and wool of business.

*Confidence.*

63. An intelligent debtor understands that forces, which tend to unsettle general confidence in momentary conditions, lead to his greatest oppression and loss. For
64. Such forces not only stimulate creditors into calling for their principal, but frighten others from loaning and investing, necessitating the sale of securities and property at a great sacrifice.
65. A change of standards unsettles credits, banking and business.

- 66. The most disastrous blow to business consists in the weakening of the confidence of depositors in the ability of our banks to redeem deposits.
- 67. There is nothing more delicate or dangerous than to tamper with the credits of a nation, for disaster here will drive the knife into the vitals of legitimate and honourable American business.
- 68. We should prevent the destruction of confidence, upon which the whole prosperity of this nation depends.
- 69. I would rather have a half dozen of men striving for confidence, than all the much-raking magazine critics, who point out a crack in the sidewalk, and claim that the whole town is going through it.

*Investing.*

- 70. The capitalist generally knows what the profit of the seller is and negotiates for a price with the true value in mind. But
- 71. The small investor generally buys without knowledge of the true value.
- 72. Many business failures at home are often long-distance millionaires, or broken plunges, whose brief success was widely advertised. Therefore
- 73. Do not put too much faith in what names seem to mean, but find out from one who knows, before you invest.
- 74. Business men who "take a flyer," can generally afford to lose, and generally do.
- 75. Try to invest your money with successful business men in the business in which they have succeeded.
- 76. As to advertised stock, be sceptical, but if it tempts you to invest, before doing so investigate and ask: "Who are you?"; "Refer me to those whom I know"; "Is the stock in a company, and in what percentages is it allotted"; "What per cent. of the stock has gone to the people, who formerly owned the property"; "What per cent. represents good-will?" "What per cent. is sold for cash, and does it go to the company's treasury, or to buy stock already issued for good-will to others?" "What is the relation of the cash cost to the amount of stock issued?" "Has it ample working capital?" "What is its indebtedness?" "Are its titles in dispute?" "What are the salaries of the officers?"

77. In buying stock, we hear of the successes, but seldom of the failures which outnumber them.
78. It is little wonder that the small investor with the rapid increase of wealth, does not feel satisfied with three per cent. interest. Yet
79. In the vast majority of cases, moderate sums cannot be invested safely, so as to bring more than a reasonable interest. For
80. The capitalist can easily buy from others; but the small investor is in the position, where others are desirous of selling to him. The capitalist can buy cheap, whether the seller is making a profit or not.
81. The small investor in answering an advertisement to buy, always pays a profit to the seller, and at his price.
82. Exceptionable bargains in stocks do not, as a rule, need to be advertised.

*Restraint of Trade.*

83. Rather than let a trust fix prices of the necessities of life, the people will either have governmental regulation, or enforced competition by the disintegration of trusts.
84. Laws forbidding combinations in restraint of trade and Laws regulating rates of corporations, are founded upon public necessity. But
85. There are certain agreements in restraint of trade, which keep alive competition; that is the "live and let live" policy of unrestrained competition, which is the cause of most of the evils, against which we cry. But
86. There are trade agreements, which may restrain trade, yet operate for the public welfare, or at least in a manner not injurious to it.

*Corporations.*

87. A corporation owes its existence to the impracticability of many owners under co-partnership agreements or contracts.
88. An unfair corporation may be successful and a fair corporation may be unsuccessful, but other things being equal, the fair corporation survives.
89. A fair corporation employs idle capital, pay-rolls are created and

wages distributed, incidental to the creation or development of a useful industry.

90. There is little altruism in corporate policies. And
91. There should be laws to correct abuses, but they should not involve a too radical application of untried remedies.
92. Inert wealth has no power, except when in motion. Many leaders in finance are not men of vast wealth, but by efficiency keep wealth in motion, and
93. Those great leaders who become wealthy, are great because they lead men, and not because of the power, which wealth gives them.

#### *Watered Stock.*

94. Watered stock is often essential to the complete fulfilment of fair arrangements between stockholders. But watered stock at fictitious price has come to be very widely condemned. Yet
95. The notion that stock is always watered to sell, or to perpetrate some fraud is erroneous. Thus
96. The public is not necessarily injured because stock at par does not always represent an equal amount of cash or its equivalent. Or
97. Stock may be watered in order to keep the management in control of it.
98. Common stock issues are as much determined by considerations of control as of good-will.
99. Dishonest men may use watered stock to create impressions of value which does not exist, but the abolishment of watered stock would not hinder them.
100. Stock exchanges may be used to create wrong impressions of values, but it is not the water in the stock, but the water in the prices paid, which causes trouble. For
101. By manipulation the apparent demand for a stock may be followed by a real demand, and if bought at an excessive price, the harm is done.
102. We may well distrust the unknown seller of stock, who wants a quick trade.
103. The demagogue is to the statesman, what the "get-rich-quick " mining stock promoter, is to the financier.

*Legislation.*

- 104. It is only at times when public sentiment is largely aroused that we can get legislation affecting things in which the great body of our people are interested. For
- 105. The *status quo*, with the veto power and the passage by the two Houses of Congress, are such, that it is very difficult to disturb legislative conditions, except when public feeling is generally aroused to the necessity of action.
- 106. With our diversified interests and opinions and with the great breadth of our country, any legislation, which will be passed in this country will be composite, and a compromise.
- 107. I do not think panics can ever be avoided, but their evil results can be very greatly mitigated by legislation providing for emergency circulation.

*The Budget.*

- 108. The object of the Budget law is to establish correct business methods in the governmental administration of our country.
- 109. It gives the President an opportunity to become in fact, as he has been in theory, the head of governmental business administration in the United States.
- 110. In government business, as in private, constant executive attention under plan and policy finds itself reflected in efficiency and economy. While
- 111. Executive indifference translates itself into extravagance; for the minute the impression is created, that the Executive eye and eyes of his agents are not watchful, Budget law or no Budget law, the system will fail.
- 112. As advisers of the President in national policies, Cabinet officers can stand upon their dignity but as administrators of routine business, they must be subordinate at all times to the President.
- 113. The Director of the Budget is simply an adviser of the President and Congress in the matter of correcting business administration, and in this capacity takes precedence over the heads of departments or independent organisations.
- 114. The indefensible system of governmental accounting renders possible almost any kind of misconstruction on the fiscal figures of the government.



115. It is extremely difficult to tell where wise spending ends and unwise spending begins in a government organization, not intended to make money for profit.
116. The Bureau of the Budget is impersonal, impartial and non-political, and thus it must always remain.

*Reparation Commission.*

117. Good faith is the foundation of all business and the best safeguard for universal peace.
118. The committee of experts of the Reparation Commission does not seek to inflict penalties, but to assist the economic recovery of all the European peoples, for the standpoint adopted has been that of business and not politics.
119. The payment of her debt is Germany's necessary contribution to repairing the damage of the war.
120. The reconstruction of Germany is not an end in itself ; it is only part of the larger problem of the reconstruction of Europe.

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ARTHUR MACDONALD

## DREAM AND TELEPATHY

If anything was able to excite the psychological interest of mankind it is the dream: known to all, now and then exciting the deepest emotion within everyone and yet a riddle to all. The most favourable conditions for the origin of a science—would the riddle only not be too obscure!

Thus the waves of scientific interest stow on this dyke; and as they were not able to overflow it or to break it through, they took their flowing-off through the lowlands of superstition and fiction.

What makes the reading of the riddle of dream so difficult, is the exceedingly variegated, I may say puzzling, variety of its forms of apparitions. But, nevertheless, there is no reason to get desperate and as there are good brains occupying themselves with this matter, it is a sign that we are further than years ago. Who altogether would have thought of the possibility that the state of the ether can be changed in the days before Faraday-Maxwell-Hertz! And to-day we use the electro-magnetic oscillations based on them for practical purposes (wireless telegraphy and telephony), meanwhile the theoretical scientist is calculating the mechanism of them, as if it were evident.

The experimental research of dreams is still in its first elements. Not only our up-to-date experiences about the efficiency and the progress of post-hypnotic suggestions, but also our present knowledge of the telepathic phenomena admit the possibility to influence dreams as well as to produce them. But the experiences in this sphere are not numerous-up to the present time; still there lie before us the experiments of the *Society for Psychical Research* (S. P. R.) and also those of the sensitive, unfortunately too early deceased Karl Schroetter. Many materials on this question have been contributed by Charles Richet, Pierre Janet, Emile Boirac,

Julian Ochorowicz, D. G. Ermacora, Fred Van Eeden and O. Pfister. But the number of the critically researched clearly telepathic dreams is very large. There is a rich collection in the work "Phantasms of the Living," edited under the auspices of the S. P. R.; then in the "Proceedings" and in the "Journal" of this Society. Lately, Wilhelm Stekel occupied himself with this subject in his "Dreams of the Poets" and especially in his "*Telepathic Dreams*" and, of late, Professor Sigmund Freud chose this problem as a subject for his lecture, "*Dream and Telepathy*," in the Viennese Psycho-analytic Association (reprinted in "Imago," VIII, 1 of 1922). In this lecture Freud analyzed two probably telepathic dreams, related to him by correspondents in Germany, but he denied the supposition of a telepathic union between these dreams and the incidents in connection with them, and he is right in doing so. But Freud and his intimate circle doubt altogether of the existence of "telepathic" dreams; for the telepathic dream contradicts the "theory of dreams" by Prof. Freud. It is never a "realisation of wishes." And, therefore, the psycho-analysis would not acknowledge the telepathic dreams. But a real impartial judgment of the telepathic dreams must prove to every analyst the reality of telepathic dreams. Surely it must be said in this connection that it is recommendable for the interest of a scientifically exact definition not to speak about telepathic dreams in the future, but telepathic occurrences in the state of sleep! It is true, Herbert Silberer thinks the world of dreams to be the dreamer's own creation "even then, when he is considered as subdued to any influences (for instance, telepathic ones)," but Freud's comprehension is in this point proved to be more correct, as he says that "dreams come from inside, that they are productions of our soul, whilst the very 'telepathic dream' in his opinion is a perception from outside, to which the soul behaves itself recepting." Telepathy has nothing to do with the nature of dreams and is not able to deepen our analytic

intelligence of the dreams. But psycho-analysis is able to promote the study of telepathy, bringing many inconceivablenesses of telepathic phenomena nearer to our understanding by the help of its interpretations, or proving that the nature of other still doubtful phenomena is telepathic.

Under telepathy is to be understood, according to the nomenclature coined by F. W. H. Myers (S. P. R.), the translation of an idea, of a feeling or of an impulse of one living person to another at such a distance and under such conditions, that the possibility of common physical communications by the known senses of body is excluded. Accordingly, telepathy is favoured by the state of sleep (already known to the Ancients, then to Agrippa, Paracelsus and others), though the latter is not an indispensable condition for the generation of telepathic events.

The corresponding supposition of telepathy is a telergy; that of feeling in the distance an action in the distance. But within which limits telepathy and telergy are possible is thoroughly unknown up to date, but it would be of the greatest interest to know their highest limits. The incidents described in the following lines, might probably reach and mark this highest limit. The well-known author Carl Vogl relates in his book "Immortality" the following singular event: A friend of Vogl's wished to convince a person of his acquaintance about the reality of such occurrences—as feeling an action at a distance—as soon as there was an opportunity. In sleep he sees himself in the dwelling of his acquaintance and has the following dialogue with him: "I came to bring you the promised proofs. Do you know that we both are dreaming now?" The other: "What are you thinking? I must really know myself whether I am dreaming or awake." Then follows a dispute, during which the other gets more and more excited by the insinuation that he might experience all this in a dream and declares his opponent to be ill. At the end follows the invitation of his friend, and the other one was to

repeat the promise five times to call on him next morning at a fixed hour. The promise is given and repeated five times that it may be well inculcated. After this the gentleman wakes up and immediately notes the discussion in the dream. The next morning at the appointed time quite uncommonly early, conventionally impossible time the other comes, saying: "Don't laugh, I don't know, why I am coming so early. I worked late yesterday night, felt then suddenly sleepy and laid down myself on my bed quite dressed; then I had a vivid dream but only remember, that we quarrelled badly with each other and that I was forced to promise you something five times."

The friend fetches the note and intimates to his visitor the origin of the dispute in the dream.

Yet more astonishing—though belonging to the same kind of facts—is the following case, for the truth of which I take the responsibility. It concerns a friend of mine, Francis L. Richtmann. A disciple of Rubinstein and Liszt, he was himself an excellent pianist, yet he got tired of playing and withdrew himself entirely into private life. With increased zeal he continued his experimental studies in para-psychic sphere, applied himself to certain systematic exercises (a kind of Indian Yoga) and obtained in this way as well an astonishing rule over his organism, as an extended domination over the organs not subdued to the will in the normal consciousness, *i. e.*, the muscle of the heart. At the same time his consciousness in dream developed in a special direction by generating a certain continuity of dream-consciousness that he finally felt himself to be a consolidated personality as well in dream as in his waking life. In these "dreams" a person arose now, whom of course he did not know in his state of wakefulness, but who soon took the part of a teacher and especially gave him instructions for his exercises. So far the case would be nothing wonderful in itself except what would have been already known in this form or another as "dissociation of

personality," phenomena of "incarnation" and so on. But there comes something thoroughly new in this case, as far as I know. This case shows not only the extent to which the human consciousness might develop, but also possibilities of action and reaction that are latent in it and to what degree they can be developed under the influence of suitable means (exercises of concentration, and so on). In one of such dreams this mysterious partner of his dreams explained to my friend, that he is just a living man as my friend himself and that he would meet him in this shape, if he could make his mind to travel to Rome.

Richtmann made the journey to Rome and indeed met there his teacher under the circumstances planned in "dream"—I cannot give nearer details but to convince the readers about the truth of these occurrences, I have mentioned the personal experiences of Mr. R., who after all was a scientifically and philosophically highly educated and considerate personality, whom I could count as one of my best friends during eleven years and up to his death, which took place in 1919.

The phenomena of telepathy in the state of sleep have been observed during the last twenty-two years by the Rev. C. B. Sanders and have been proved by the researches of the psychologist Prof. William James and Dr. R. Hodgson and have been reported in a small book, edited in 1876, under the somewhat strange title : X- Y-Z or the Sleeping Preacher of North Alabama.

The reported occurrences represent, it is true, rarissimas on para-psychic sphere at least on our regions, but a non-pre-occupied study of the Yoga-philosophy informs every one that the Hindoos possess an astonishing knowledge of various para-psychical phenomena and their dynamic influences for centuries. I may believe, that all that is produced somewhere in European circles as to the exercises of concentration remains only at the periphery of Indian absorption. According to the

numerous notes from India, there can be no doubt that a further continuation of such concentrations and contemplations has a peculiarly strong effect on the human mind. We always have the impression that the Indian Yogi has a complete mastery over his mind. The further study of it is a serious task, that could produce important results even for the psychological self-education. A deeper study of these concentrations is impossible, at least in Europe. The whole European mind is much too active, and much too concerned with worldly interests, to give itself up to such psychological experiments. The study of Indian absorptions must take place in India. It is, therefore, of such great psychological importance, because—if the informations brought back by the travellers are correct and true—it would represent a method to gain the rule over those parts of the organisms, that are not subdued by the will, as well as the production of mediumistic phenomena. The European mediumism is a gift of chance. Abnormal parapsychic phenomena appear in certain people, but we don't know why and when. In India the problem of methodical development has apparently been solved for many centuries. (I am, however, certain that the *mediumship* and *Yogaship* are *essential contrasts*!) It is surprising that the Indian physicians have upto date apparently not written works on the subject, except the "Comparison of Hypnotism with the Yoga-system of the Hindoos" by Dr. Thamo Tharam Pillay. As there are Universities in India, that should really be only natural. Or have the publications on such experiments appeared in Indian newspapers?—Of course it must not be forgotten, that such experiments as these would have first of all to overcome considerable difficulties in order to come into close contact with the individuals in question. Hindoos themselves, who have studied the European knowledge, would have to take the work upon themselves. In spite of this it appears to me that even the learned Hindoos cannot easily get into contact with the Sadhus. Nevertheless, learned Hindoos would have to try to

get as close relation as possible with them. Therefore, I should like to call together all those who have a psychological as well as philosophical interest in the problems to an active collaboration. As to our special theme :—Dream and Telepathy—there surely will be many people that have personal experiences—spontaneous as well as experimental ones—in this sphere.

WILHELM WRCHOVSZKY



## INTERPRETATION OF BEHAVIOUR

Movements of any object cannot be regarded as "behaviour." Both living and non-living things may act in the same way when stimulated in the same manner. Sir J. C. Bose in his "Irritability of the Living and Non-living" has clearly shown that the same phenomena such as staircase fatigue, refractory and others are produced as much by the inorganic objects as by the organic ones on chemical stimulation. Many things that were originally produced only through organic processes are now produced in the Laboratory. This discovery has led many scientists to conclude that the hitherto supposed distinction between the organic and inorganic energy does not exist. So there should not be any distinction in the movements characteristic of the two classes of things. But can the two kinds of energy be rightly placed on the same plane and all distinctions be merged totally? I think it is not so. Bethmism is a phenomenon peculiar to living things. Life is in its essence a process, and a process of a very peculiar kind.

An organism has the power of maintaining itself for a longer or shorter period in a state of equilibrium with its environment and thereby preserving itself from destruction. A piece of metal becomes corroded by oxidation, or worn away by friction. And the same oxidation and friction also work upon the organism, but there, they are held in check for a longer or shorter period by the automatic processes of repair and renewal. No such automatic adjustment can be found in inorganic matter.

The process of self-multiplication can be attributed only to living things. But Samuel Butler has indulged in the somewhat fantastic suggestion that some day the construction of machines might be so perfected that they also would be able to reproduce their kind and the little steam-engines would

be seen playing about the door of the engine-shed. Of course it does not seem possible that machines will grow in this way; but if it be so then there is perhaps no reason why they should not be entitled to be called living organism like plants or animals.

The organism is often compared with an inorganic crystal and an essentially crystalline character is attributed to it. But the crystal consists primarily of like molecules while the organism is a complex of many different kinds of molecules. So Mr. Child says there is no optical or other evidence that protoplasm in general is fundamentally crystalline in structure. In the face of this distinct difference in the constituents of the protoplasmic and inorganic substances none will perhaps be justified in saying that the internal processes in the two substances on stimulation will be identical in nature merely on the ground that they produce the same external phenomena. There is undoubtedly an unity in the crystal but the unity of the crystal is a static unity while the unity of the organic individual is a dynamic one. We cannot ignore the metabolism, *i.e.*, the formative agent in the organism.

So it is very difficult to get rid of the facts that tend obviously to show the distinction between the organic and inorganic energies. They cannot be brought under the same class. So we cannot treat them in the same way. The principle that works at the basis of the activities of inorganic matter cannot prove adequate to explain the facts of organic matter. Movements of inorganic things are merely physical or mechanical processes. They must be distinguished from the marks of life. By behaviour also we commonly mean the action or actions of some living thing. We sometimes speak of the behaviour of inert things—such things as tools, or weapons. We may say of a ship: "She is behaving badly to-day." In such cases we use the word playfully. We playfully regard the object as alive and more or less playfully personify it. So behaviour is peculiar to living things. But

even amongst the living things every movement cannot be recognised as an instance of behaviour unless it presents certain peculiarities in itself by which it is distinguished from all merely physical or mechanical movements.

In behaving, an animal does not become a mere sport of the forces that play upon it from without. It is behaving in so far as it actively resists the force. The behaviour may be initiated by an external stimulus or force but it must continue independently of the initiating stimulus. The creature will strive persistently towards an end and will not cease when it meets with an obstacle. We can mark such striving even in the behaviour of the humblest and simplest animal, *Amœba*. When one larger *Amœba* tries to engulf a smaller one it undergoes a series of movements which cannot be explained as tropisms or reflexes. (H. E. Jennings—"The Behaviour of Lower Organisms.")

The reflex movement seems to be of a mechanical or quasi-mechanical character. It is more or less a partial reaction while in behaviour the whole organism is involved and the energy of the whole organism seems to be concentrated. So a reflex action cannot be recognised as an instance of behaviour. The plant reaction also does not come within the category of behaviour. The activities of the plant are entirely immanent and very largely limited to growth reaction instead of being transient motor reactions like those in animals.

Prof. McDougall calls the behaviour of even animalcules purposive, and seems to lay too much emphasis upon the purposiveness of behaviour. But by 'purposive' he does not exactly mean 'adaptive.' Of course it cannot be denied that there is an end to be attained in the behaviour. Even some of the mechanical psychologists admit it but they define it in a non-psychological manner and describe as purposive all actions which seem to be serviceable to the life of the animal or its species. According to this criterion simple reflex action such as the withdrawal of the foot from a sharp contact or the

scratch reflex of the dog's hind leg are to be recognised as serviceable and therefore purposive. Thus mechanists proceed as if animals had no minds or rather as if mind were a kind of behaviour observable by outside means.

So McDougall wants to lay bare the inner aspect of the behaviour and in doing so he describes it to be purposive. It is true that cognitive, conative and also affective elements are all involved in the animal behaviour. But in the description of the mental aspect we should seize upon and describe those elements that stand out most clearly and prominently. So, when we say that the action is purposive we mean by it that the action has been governed by the prevision of what lies in the future. The end has been foreseen for purpose by itself implies foresight and deliberation. Means to the attainment of the end are consciously chosen. But such a power of ideation cannot be attributed to the mental life of lower organisms. So emphasis should not be laid upon the cognitive or ideational aspect of the mental activity of the animalcule in behaviour. The cognitive aspect is ill defined and sketchy in lower organisms while the conative force is very prominent, definite and specific. So behaviour is more conative than cognitive in lower organisms. Birds migrate in a particular season. The seasonal changes in the environment as well as the internal changes in the organism take part in exciting in them a strong conative impulse for flight. They do not study the situation nor plan out a means of escape nor are they guided in their long flight by a purpose foreseen by them. The same process takes place in the migration of fishes in the spawning season. Here some kind of conation accompanied by a restless feeling which accentuates it works as an active tendency directed to an end. But this end is an end for an external observer not so much for the animal itself in the determination of its movements. The excitation of the conative tendency will suffice in it. The animal need not have the anticipation of the

end or a selection of the special means by which the end is to be attained. It is precisely this deficiency in foresight which is supplied by the inherited constitution of its nervous system as pre-adjusted for a certain mode of behaviour in certain circumstances. This innate motor mechanism does not work automatically but requires to be set in operation by the \* urgency of conative impulse. So the conative character is the most fundamental feature in animal behaviours in general. The cognitive process may be subservient to it.

Behaviourists seek to interpret behaviours frankly in terms of the condition which give rise to them. They do not go to find out the underlying forces of behaviour or to determine the agencies which connect certain stimuli with certain behaviours. They depend entirely upon a purely factual study of behaviour and in their view, all speculations regarding the nexus between certain conditions and certain responses may be abandoned.

So L. Morgan says, "now when one is dealing not with crystal which is differentiated within a solution but with a percept which is differentiated within experience, I conceive that the same limitations should be imposed on scientific treatment. The metaphysician, no doubt, may explain it by reference to an underlying cause, the conscious ego, the agency of self-activity by which it is produced: but the man of science can only explain it by reference to the antecedent and accompanying conditions in relation to the generalization which have been found to hold good in such cases." So behaviourists will interpret the behaviour of an organism in terms of the antecedent conditions that brought about the response. But can we maintain this air of isolation from all speculation regarding the underlying determinants of behaviour? Should we not like to know why the organism responds as it does to the conditions? The mere knowledge of the conditions to which the organism is subjected cannot satisfy us, unless we have the knowledge of the force that

works from within. We must try to explain why an organism responds as it does when confronted with certain circumstances and why the organisms are active at all.

It has been generally believed that this organic behaviour in response to certain circumstances is to be ascribed to the function of an instinct. Of course, none can deny that instinct is the spring of actions and all energy is derived from it. But modern writers have given no fixed meaning to the term instinct. It has been subjected to an extremely varied usage and there is hardly any substantial agreement in the definition of the term instinct. But all the definitions can fairly be grouped into three kinds, *viz.*, neurological, biological and psychological. And the differences of definition seem to be prompted by differences of emphasis. All observers find, in general, the same set of facts, but their accounts and interpretations vary in accordance with the more or less definite viewpoints from which they undertake the observations of those facts.

James says, "Instincts are the functional correlative of structure." This assumes that with the presence of an organ or of a structure in a certain state there is the aptitude and tendency to use it in a certain way. Thorndike also supports it when he explains pleasure and pain in terms of readiness and unreadiness of neurones to act.

But if instincts be regarded as functional correlatives of structure then it is very difficult to account for the contrary impulses which are manifested by the same organism. If the same structure may act in opposite and various ways then what the structure does is to present a number of possibilities for action,—other factors are to determine which possibility shall be realised. So, does not the structure become a limiting factor and not the determining one of behaviour? Spencer also regards instincts as compound reflex actions. But a careful analysis of the illustrations he has chosen will, at once, make it clear that his instances are not instances of instincts proper, but of more or less elaborate neuro-muscular instances.

We should not call a spade a club and then argue that because it is a club, it cannot be a spade.

Thorndike seems to say that organisms do not respond to certain stimuli as they do merely because they have a certain structure. If you wish to know why the structure responds in one way rather than another you will have to know the history of the species. You must make an appeal to phylogeny. The impulse is here supposed to be inherited as a result of the adaptation of the species. Thorndike says, "Teasing, bullying, cruelty are thus in part the results of one of nature's means of providing self and family with food and what grew up as a pillar of human self-support has become so extravagant a luxury as to be almost a vice." (Educational Psychology, B.C.)

Now this instinctive explanation of the teasing of children to-day by reference to the hunting activities of our ancestors can hardly be justified; in one case there is an economic drive while in the other cruelty is involved. The process of transition is entirely ignored. It is difficult to conceive how the instinct to secure food turns into a malicious desire to annoy through the succession of generation.

The theory of recapitulation may be cited to support the transference of the impulse from phylogeny to ontogeny. According to this theory the individual goes through the same stages of development that the species did in its evolution. It does not say anything in regard to the origin of all impulses and instincts in our ancestors. So the theory, rightly understood, is an invitation for an explanation rather than an explanation itself of the origin of the impulse. Therefore, the attempt to explain behaviour in terms of the race's experience is futile. Does not activity of ancestors require an explanation?

To have an adequate explanation for the behaviour we must go deep into the matter and try to discover the deep underlying causes for the activity. Two questions are naturally raised in connection with the interpretation of

action :—why does the organism act at all and why does it act in a particular way in a particular situation?

There must be something embedded in the organism which impels it to act. It is this something which makes it impossible for the organism to remain inert like a rock or a stick. It is a fundamental force that underlies all life and it is entirely due to this force that the organism is intensely active. It is very difficult to conceive its definite nature, but however obscure its nature may be, undoubtedly it is a directive force that watches over the development of the individual organism. It is by virtue of this primordial energy that the organism is active. Dr. Jung calls it 'Libido'; Prof. Bergson has named it 'Élan vital,' Prof. McDougall speaks of it as undifferentiated vital energy.

Freud interprets this 'libido' entirely in terms of the sex-instinct; and Adler defines it in terms of the will-to-power or the instinct of self-assertion. Boris Sidis stands more or less on the same plane with Adler when he refers all neuroses to some trauma of fear. So the issue between Freud and Adler Sidis is that between race-preservation and self-preservation in general. But Jung has been unable to confine himself to this limitation. He has broadened the concept of 'libido' and has thus proposed a reconciliation between the two extreme views. According to him it is a cosmic energy of life which is manifested not only in sexuality but in various physiological and psychological activities. Sexuality and its various manifestations may be the most important channels utilised by the 'libido,' but not the exclusive ones through which 'libido' flows. This primal 'libido' becomes differentiated and turns into sex-instinct alone which lies merged in the primal 'libido.' All instincts are to be regarded as differentiations or manifestations in different forms of the one primitive 'libido.' The 'libido' is the source of energy which flows through the well-defined conative channels of the excitation of instincts, and supplies the driving power by



which all bodily and mental activities are initiated and sustained. It is this conception of instinct that will enable us to trace out the motive deeply hidden and disguised in our activities. It is these instincts that are the main-springs of all our activities, bodily, emotional and intellectual. They are the prime movers of all human activity and supply the spur that prompts and sustains action.

Animal bodies being material there is a persistent endeavour to explain all the behaviour of any animal in terms of the categories of physical science; but even in the life of the humblest animal there is more than Physics and Chemistry and so the behaviour, even of a protozoan, goes beyond the conception of a physico-chemical machine. The element of 'striving' or 'urge' that is expressed in the incessant adjustments and activities of every animal, no matter what its place is in the scale of life, is the fundamental property that differentiates the living animal from dead matter and that can hardly be adequately explained by physical laws. But the striving of the creature is not a persistent pushing like that of a rocket in the same direction. It is on account of this persistent internal urge that the kind and direction of movement of any animal vary again and again for the attainment of its end and are not predictable in detail. It is perhaps by reason of the absence of this internal drive that the automatic actions of the sympathetic system which are stereotyped or fixed and in which the whole organism is not involved are not to be included within the category of behaviour, and we need not invoke instincts for the interpretation. There is a belief that there is hardly anything of the nature of internal drive or psychic energy among the unicellular animals which are almost structureless in organisation and that they are governed by tropism, but we should not forget that each one of us also begins life first as a speck of jelly and then becomes a man or a critic.

## A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF KASHMIR

### *The Country.*

*Physical features.*—The territories of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir comprise an area of over 80000 square miles. In point of extent, therefore, the State is the largest of all the Indian states with the single exception of Hyderabad which is slightly larger. The country is almost entirely mountainous, varying in height from hillocks of a few hundred feet above the sea level on the Punjab border to the great Himalayan giants from whose crowns the eternal snows never melt. Among these mountain ranges are many valleys of which Kashmir, aptly styled “the Paradise of the Indies” is the largest, most fertile, and most beautiful. It is more or less a level plain, 1600 square miles in area, surrounded on all sides by snow-capped mountain ramparts which have always made access to it very difficult. Its rivers and lakes, its flowers and fruits, its verdant forests, the ever-varying aspect of its skies, and its genial climate throughout the greater part of the year have lent it a charm of which few other tracts in the world can boast.

The mountains may conveniently be classified into three divisions. (1) The region of the Outer Hills, comprising the long ranges to the immediate north of the Punjab and rising to an altitude of 2,000 to 4,000 ft. above the sea. This is mostly bare or covered with scrub. (2) The region of the Middle Mountains ranging on the average between 8,000 and 10,000 ft. in height, though many of the peaks are 14,000 to 15,000 ft. high. The valley of Kashmir forms part of this region. (3) Beyond this great range, the whole tract is at a high level and in a physico-geographical sense may be said to belong to Tibet, the highest inhabited country in the world. The ranges here vary from 17,000 to more than 22,000 ft. in

height, and one peak has an altitude of 28,265 ft. and is the second highest peak in the world.

*Climate.*—In a country which shows such vast differences in altitude, corresponding variations in climate follow as a matter of course. We are not, therefore, surprised to see the arid districts at the southern foot of the Outer Hills being almost literally roasted in the burning heat of the Punjab summer; while at the same time the inhabitants of higher Alpine regions to the north are shivering in the arctic cold of the ice-bound Himalaya. Jammu, on the whole, is hot and dry; Kashmir, temperate in summer and cold in winter; and Ladakh, cold and dry.

*People.*—To the student of Ethnology and Sociology Kashmir offers an immense and most interesting field for investigation. Living in the Outer Hills on the south is the warlike Dogra Rajput, lithe of limb and strong of arm, whose heroic achievements on many a battle field, particularly in the Great War, have gained him a crown of laurels which is not likely to fade for many a day to come. Further in the "Middle Mountains" we meet the semi-pastoral Gujar, living chiefly on maize and milk and possessing a remarkably Jewish cast of features. The Happy Valley is inhabited by Muhammadans and Brahmans—the former a race of wonderfully deft-fingered craftsmen, and the latter, intellectual heirs to a splendid culture which they have maintained at a high level. The province of Ladakh in the east is exclusively peopled by pure Tibetans, and Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar and other tracts on the north and north-west contain tall, fair, Kanjutis and Darads. These are the principal types, but there are many more which are too numerous to mention here. Indeed, from the cultured, philosophical Brahman to the nomad Bakarwal (shepherd) living, year in and year out, under the shade of a tree with his flocks and watch dogs as his sole companions, who knows no law except that of necessity, there is hardly any stage of civilisation which is not represented by some section of His Highness's subjects.

*History.*

Kashmir has the happy distinction of being the only province in the whole continent of India which possesses a series of continuous indigenous histories from the pre-Muhammadan times down to the present century. The author of the first and most important was Kalhana, a Kashmiri Brahman, who flourished in the first part of the 12th century A.D. and wrote his *Rajatarangini*, "the Chronicle of Kings," in 1148-49 A.D. Before, however, we proceed to summarise the information that Kalhana and his Hindu and Muhammadan successors supply, it will be of interest to note that Kashmir was known to the Greek geographer, Ptolemy, under the name *Kaspeiria* and the Kashmiris, the *Kaspeiroi* of Dionysios of Samos, were renowned in the ancient world for their fleetness of foot. The Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, who visited the country in 629 A.D. and Oukong (759 A.D.) have left us graphic descriptions of the condition of Kashmir in their days. The country was prosperous; learning was respected and education, general. Buddhism was still flourishing but Brahmanism was gaining ground. The annals of the T'ang dynasty of China make mention of the arrival of an embassy from King Chandrāpīḍa of Kashmir in or shortly after 713 A.D. and that of another from his successor Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa. This shows that Kashmir in the more prosperous periods of her history maintained political relations with distant powers. The rise of the great Muhammadan kingdom beyond the north-western border of India, the fall of the buffer Hindu principalities of western Punjab, and finally the repeated invasions of India by Mahmud of Ghazni (A.D. 996-1030) forced Kashmir to retire into her own shell and seek protection behind her mountain barriers. All the passes were closed and entry into the valley was rigidly checked. Alberūni, the great Muhammadan scholar, who lived at the court of Mahmud states that though

formerly one or two persons, especially Jews, were admitted, in his time no one, not even a Hindu unless he was personally known, was afforded entrance. He further states that Hindu learning and sciences had in his day sought refuge in regions where Muslim arms could not reach them, *e. g.*, Kashmir, Benares, etc.

In the earlier part of Kalhana's chronicle we meet with the great historic names of Aśoka, Kanishka, Huvishka, Tōramāna and Mihirakula. All of them were great rulers possessing extensive territories of which Kashmir formed only a part; but the *Rajatarangini* represents them as mere local Rajas who had in certain cases extended their conquests abroad. With the accession to the throne of the plebeian Kārkaṭa dynasty about the beginning of the middle of the seventh century A.D. Kalhana's narrative assumes a more definite and detailed form. Among the kings who immediately preceded this dynasty Pravarasena II is easily the most prominent. He seems to have spent the earlier portion of his life in exile, while the kingdom of his fathers was being ruled by Mātrigupta, a foreigner, and a nominee of Vikramāditya of Ujjain. Legend credits him with extensive conquests in Northern India and the replacement of Silāditya-Pratāpaśila<sup>†</sup> of Mālwa on the throne. But the chief historical interest of his reign is centred in the foundation of the city of Srinagar which he called Pravarapura, a name which is still common among the learned.

More than a century after Pravarasēna II's rule Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa ascended the throne of Kashmir. As stated above, the second embassy mentioned by the T'ang annals was sent by this king to the Emperor of China. He was by far the most heroic ruler that Kashmir has ever produced. Popular tradition credits him with immense conquests, stretching in India from shore to shore and extending beyond the snowy mountains to the parched "Ocean of Sand" in Central Asia. His march in Hindustan appears to have been

more of the nature of a military raid than a permanent occupation of the country. Thus, he swooped with his army upon Kanyakubja, the modern Kanauj, and before the king, Yaśoverman, had probably time to recover from his surprise, he found his army annihilated and himself reduced to the necessity of suing for an ignominious peace.

Lalitāditya was not only a great warrior but also a great builder. Among the towns that he founded the chief are Parnōtsa (prūnts), the capital of the modern territory of Punch and still a flourishing town and Lalitapura and Parihāsapura which have now dwindled into petty hamlets. The last-named he chose as his capital in preference to the larger and the more conveniently situated Srinagar, and embellished it with a group of religious edifices, vestiges of which still remain to testify to the magnificence of their founder. But his greatest memorial is the superb temple of Mārtāṇḍa, the most striking example of Kashmir architecture that now survives.

Avantivarman (A.D. 855-883) is one of the most lovable figures that we come across in the rather lengthy narrative of the historian. He was a rare combination of strength and gentleness. When he ascended the throne the country had long been distracted by the internecine feuds of the powerful nobles and the rapacious administration of the Kāyasthas (clerks). His first and greatest care throughout his whole reign was to give peace and rest to his suffering people. His triumphs, therefore, were essentially those of peace, as the triumphs of his great predecessor Lalitāditya were those of war. His pacification of the country though not described in as great detail as the other episodes of his life, seems to have been no easy task. In his time we first meet a member of that turbulent class of Dāmaras, the feudal barons of Kashmir, who during the feeble rule of his successors inflicted untold misery upon the country by their constant and bloody warfare against each other and against the crown.

Probably the most beneficent achievements of his reign were the dredging operations carried out by his engineer Suyya near Sūpūr, which resulted in lowering the bed of the river and thus relieving the greater part of the valley from the danger of floods. This brought about an immediate and permanent fall of nearly 600 per cent. in the price of grain.

Among his religious foundations is that gem of architecture, the Avantiswāmi temple at Avantipur. He was a great patron of learning, and not only conferred on the poets, philosophers, and literati of his day lands and fortunes, but also went to the length of giving them seats in his council.

A period of disorder followed his death. The political power was entirely in the hands, first of the Tāntrins who in their close military organisation resembled the Praetorian guards of Rome and who as might be expected, abused their strength in the same shameless manner; and afterwards, in those of the Dāmaras or feudal barons. These latter were a set of hereditary freelances whose possessions enabled them to lie secure in their own demesnes, wherefrom they scoured the surrounding country for plunder and took away whatever they could lay their hands on.

The country was restored to some semblance of order by Uchchala (A.D. 1101-1111) and his immediate successors, but the forces which contributed towards its disintegration were never completely eradicated. The power of the kingdom gradually went on decreasing until Shāh Mīr, an obscure Muhammadan adventurer from Swāt, who had found a refuge and employment here, repaid the kindness of his master by wresting the sceptre from the feeble hands of his widowed queen. This was in 1337 A. D. From that date to 1819 when Ranjit Singh conquered it, Kashmir was ruled by Muslims. Among the indigenous Muslim rulers of Kashmir (A. D. 1337 to 1587) the most notable are Sikandar (1390-1414) and his son Zainu-l-'ābidīn (1421-1472). History

has seldom shown a father and a son who are so fundamentally unlike each other in the aims and conduct of life as were these two. Both were men of strong character but their strength was directed to widely divergent ends. The father, surnamed Butshikan, "iconoclast," was a gloomy enthusiast whose one mission in life was to hunt down the infidel and to widen the fold of Islam. He entrusted the prosecution of this religious campaign to his minister Sūhabhaṭṭa, a converted Hindu, who hated his former co-religionists with the intense hatred of a thoroughgoing renegade. Temples were destroyed, cremation of the dead was interdicted, the wearing of caste marks was prohibited, and orders were issued proscribing the residence of any but the Muhammadans in the country. "There was no city or town, no village or forest where an abode of the gods escaped destruction by Sūhabhaṭṭa; all the images of the gods were broken with no more consideration than if they had been mere stones."

From this fearful witches' dance it is pleasant to turn to the reign of his son Zainu-l-'ābidīn. His long rule of half a century and more was one continuous endeavour to redress the wrongs and heal the wounds which his father and elder brother had inflicted. His proclamation of "peace and good will to all mankind" had an immediate response in the return of the Hindu exiles. He not only encouraged the study of Sanskrit, but was himself an ardent student of its philosophy. He anticipated the prison reforms of the nineteenth century by instituting a system of prison industries. Thieves and other criminals who formerly would have suffered instant execution were now made to work as labourers on public works; this being the chief reason why his reign was prolific of works of public utility which lasted down to recent times. The assessment of land was fixed at a reasonable rate. The prices of commodities were regulated by monthly notifications. It was from this time that the Kashmiri-Persian Literature, which only a quarter of a century ago occupied an almost



exclusive place in the education and culture of the official or *Kārkun* class of Kashmiri Pandits, began to grow.

Many of the dry Karēwas or plateaus which form such a prominent feature of the Kashmir landscape were brought under cultivation by the construction of a series of canals some of which exist to this day.

He was an enlightened promoter of the architecture and the arts of the country. His name still survives in Zainakadal, the most important commercial mart of Kashmir, the town of Zainagir, and the Island of Zaina-lank in the Wolar lake. He gave a strong impetus to the manufacture of shawls and embroidered tapestry for which Kashmir has always been famous. He promoted the silk industry by \* inviting weavers from Khurāsān and settling them here.

In 1587 Akbar conquered Kashmir and annexed it to his dominions. Thenceforward up to 1846 it remained a dependency, first of the Mughal Empire and later, of the Afghan kingdom of Kabul and the Sikh kingdom of Lahore.

The Mughals embellished the valley with great palaces and gardens, the latter specially being the finest of their type in India. Akbar was enamoured of his new acquisition. Abul Fazl, his guide, philosopher, friend, and chronicler, says that "the country is enchanting and might befittingly be called a garden of perpetual spring surrounding a citadel terraced to the skies: its streams are sweet to the taste, its waterfalls music to the ear and its climate is invigorating. On account of the abundance of wood and constant earthquakes houses of stone and brick are not built, but the ancient temples inspire astonishment. Thieving and begging are rare. Apparel is generally of wool. The most respectable class in this country is that of Brahmans. They do not loosen the tongue of calumny against those not of their faith, nor beg nor importune. They employ themselves in planting fruit trees, and are generally a source of benefit to the people."

Probably the best description of Mughal Kashmir is from

the pen of the French physician François Bernier, who came to Kashmir in the suite of Emperor Aurangzeb in 1664 A. D.

The decline in the prosperity of Kashmir followed in the wake of the decadence of the Mughal Empire. The *rois faineants* who succeeded Aurangzeb lost all hold on their distant possessions. In 1739 Kashmir was annexed to the kingdom of Kabul by the terrible Nādir Shāh, and it remained subject to the dominion of the Afghans until Ranjit Singh wrested it from the hands of Amīr Dōst Muhammad in 1819.

In 1846, after the Sikh war, the East India Company handed over the valley of Kashmir to Maharaja Gulāb Singh of Jammu who had already made himself master of Kashtwār, Bhadrawāh and Ladākh. The sternness with which he put down all lawlessness, his rough and ready method of dispensing justice, resulted in the thorough consolidation of the whole dominion.

His son Maharaja Ranbir Singh was an enlightened prince of the best type. His liberal patronage of learning, his advancement of merit, irrespective of caste or creed and his easy accessibility to all who sought to approach him endeared him greatly to his people. The régime of the present Maharaja, His Highness Lieutenant-General Sir Pratāp Singh, Indar Mahendar, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., is characterised by the immense strides which the country has made in its march of progress in all directions.

#### *Administration.*

In a speech which he delivered in full Durbar at Srinagar on the 22nd of October, 1921, His Highness the Maharaja after making a brief survey of the various reforms introduced by him said :

“We cannot, however, having regard to the march of civilisation, afford to stand still. The rapid progress which characterises the administration of the different provinces of British India makes it obligatory upon

us to look far ahead and take steps which may be calculated to improve the constitutional character of the administration to an extent which may be fraught with great potentialities of good government and to strengthen the patriotic ties which have hitherto bound my subjects to my house in the discharge of their loyal duties of citizenship. Accordingly, actuated by vigilant care to promote their contentment and happiness and inspired by their loving devotion towards myself, I have decided consistently with local conditions and the essential characteristics of the sovereignty of the State, to sanction the introduction of a Regulation for the establishment of an Executive Council to help me in the discharge of my onerous responsibilities. This will be measured by the work it does during the course of one year. The creation of this body will immediately be followed by its necessary complement of a representative assembly."

His Highness's decision has since been formulated in the Sri Pratap Reforms Regulation which has partially been given effect to.

In place of the system, hitherto in vogue, of a number of Ministers administering the various Departments of which they held charge, under the general supervision of a Chief Minister, who was the sole channel of communication between them and His Highness the Maharaja, the Reforms Regulation mentioned above has substituted a State Council consisting of His Highness the Maharaja as President, General Raja Sir Harisingh as Senior and Foreign Member, and the Members for (1) Home and Legislative Departments, (2) Revenue, and (3) Commerce and Industry as Ordinary Members. The Member for Commerce and Industry is in charge of almost all the Scientific and Technical Departments; the Home and Law Member controls, among other things, the Departments of Education, Public Works, Legislation and Municipalities; while the Revenue Member controls the Departments of Land Revenue, Finance, Settlement, etc.

"All matters which under the existing constitution, require the orders of His Highness the Maharaja and cannot otherwise be dealt with by any other Member or any other authority under powers delegated to him by virtue of any law, rule, regulation or practice sanctioned by His Highness, shall in future be submitted to His Highness in the Jammu and

Kashmir State Council, with the exception of the subjects reserved specially for final disposal by His Highness."

### *Revenue.*

The revenue of the State is over two crores of rupees and is mainly derived from Forests, Land, Sericulture, Customs and Excise, Pasture lands, Sale of Stamps, and Fruit gardens.

*Forests.*—The total area of the forests is close on 10,000 square miles. Besides supplying the whole of the State with firewood and timber for building purposes, the Forest Department exports an enormous quantity of timber to the Punjab. A very considerable length of the North Western Railway is paved with Kashmir sleepers. The chief varieties of timber trees are deodar, Himalayan blue pine, spruce, silver fir, alder, yew, elm, ash, hazel, walnut, Indian chestnut, willow, hawthorne and birch.

Among the minor forest products the most valuable is the strongly scented *Kuth* root (*Costus speciosus*), which is used as medicine, insect-destroyer and as an incense. A large variety of drugs is also exported every year.

*Land.*—The staple food in the valley is rice which is grown there almost everywhere. Rice land seldom yields more than one crop in the year. Wheat, maize, and barley are also grown in considerable quantities in the uplands and plateaus. Oil is extracted from rape, linseed and walnuts. Cotton is also grown in small quantities. In the province of Jammu wheat, maize, and barley are grown as also small quantities of rice.

*Fruits.*—Kashmir is particularly rich in fruits. Not only are they enough for local consumption but every autumn they flood the markets of almost the whole of Northern India. The principal fruits are apples, pears, cherries, plums, walnuts, almonds, apricots and mulberry.

*Sericulture.*—The immense number of mulberry trees in

Kashmir offers peculiar facilities for the rearing of cocoons. The seed used at present is both foreign and local, but of late years the tendency has been gradually to decrease the quantity of imported seed, as the local seed has been found to give better results. The Srinagar factory has five filatures. The quantity of silk sold during the last year in India and elsewhere was 396,804 pounds. The filatures are worked by electricity, only the heating of the cooking basins being done by steam. The chief markets for Kashmir silk are England and France.

It will be of interest to note that the manufacture of silk is a very ancient industry in Kashmir. Zainu-l-'abidin who ruled from 1421 to 1472 is said to have imported silk weavers from Khurasan and settled them here.

*Customs and Excise Department.*—The revenue which this Department contributes to the State is derived from the duties levied upon the exports and imports of the State. These vary in quantity and nature in different provinces according to the geographical conditions and the needs of the people living in them. The chief imports of Kashmir are piecegoods, sugar, salt, metals, seeds, tea, tobacco, snuff and fruits, and the chief exports timber, silk, ghee, fruits, wool and woollens, grains, drugs, and livestock. By far the greatest amount of the trade to and from the valley follows the routes of Rawalpindi-Murree and Havelian-Abbottabad. Of these two the former is the most frequented, the latter, though shorter and easier, being often shunned on account of its being rather unsafe.

*Pastures.*—On the high roads of Srinagar in spring and autumn, one occasionally witnesses a striking spectacle: he sees passing before him herd after herd of long-haired goats, guarded on all sides by formidable sheep dogs, before whose stern carriage and watchful eye the street mongrels slink away hastily, and followed at short intervals by tall, robust, sombre-looking, shepherds whose little children and few pots

and pans are borne on the backs of a couple of hardy, sleek mountain ponies. If one is in a hurry he had better turn back and go another way, for neither the bell of a bicycle nor the braying horn of a motor car seems to have the least effect upon these placid, slow-moving, bleating thousands. These are the *bakarwāls* moving up in spring from Rajauri, Reasi, Mirpur and Hazara, in other words, from the region of the Outer Hills to the high Alpine pasture lands of Kashmir, and in winter making their exodus back to a warmer clime. To the student of ancient history the spectacle is forcibly reminiscent of those days, thousands of years ago, when the great pastoral nations moved slowly from pasture to pasture and oasis to oasis before finding the home which their descendants now occupy.

But unfortunately these herds inflict incalculable damage on the State forests by the destruction of young plants. With a view to lessen their numbers as far as possible and eventually to put a complete stop upon their entry into the State territories, the Durbar has decided to levy an annually increasing toll, per head, upon all goats owned by migratory *bakarwāls* who seek for entrance into the Kashmir pastures.

*Sale of Stamps.*—The Durbar issues its own Judicial revenue and Telegraphic stamps.

### *Arts and Crafts.*

*Shawls.*—In the minds of most people who have not seen the country with their own eyes the name Kashmir almost invariably conjures up images of beautiful variegated shawls, and well it may, for the Kashmir shawl has for centuries been almost as ubiquitous as Lipton's tea has become now-a-days. In the Mughal times the industry was very flourishing. Bernier who visited Kashmir in 1664 was much struck by the great production and universal use of shawls and the occupation it gave "even to the little children." Trade with Europe

was carried on either through the Red Sea, or overland through Persia to Constantinople and Alexandria, or through Chinese Turkistan to Russia. The Pathan oppressions (A.D. 1739-1819) gave a severe blow to the industry, but during the present régime it has shown signs of rapid recovery.

Shawl wool is the fleece of a species of wild goat living in the uplands of Tibet and is imported into Kashmir either direct from the western provinces of Tibet or from Ladakh. Before being spun into thread it is bleached in wet rice flour but is never cleaned with soap as that is said to toughen the fibres.

*Embroidery.*—The use of embroidery is universal. Bed-covers, cushions, curtains, scarves, tablecloths, purses, felt rugs, cotton cloth, silk, shawls, leather, in fact everything that can lend itself to the operation of thread and needle is embroidered. Much of the work is extremely pleasing and finds a ready market in Kashmir and abroad.

*Carpets*, similar to those made in Persia, are manufactured in Srinagar.

*Patlu*, a kind of homespun of various degrees of fineness, manufactured from the wool of local sheep is a cheap and favourite article of winter apparel.

*Gabba* is peculiar to Kashmir. Half-worn blankets are dyed and embroidered. A border of small pieces dyed in different colours and arranged and stitched together in geometrical patterns is added and the whole becomes an admirable carpet. If used as an article of bedding it is usually quilted. Another variety of *gabba* is prepared by printing a number of patterns in colours upon a woollen blanket.

*Brass, copper and silver ware*, are mostly manufactured in Srinagar. The chief articles are jugs, wash-basins, samovars, flower vases, *hookas*, ash trays, etc. The carving is often very beautiful.

*Wood Carving.*—Except for architectural purposes when cedar and pine are also carved, carving is almost exclusively

limited to walnut wood. Most articles of furniture are so ornamented. The chief motifs are floral designs (chinar leaf being the most favourite) and geometrical patterns usually of great beauty; and Chinese dragons with Chinese characters known as "Lhasa designs," probably because they penetrated into the valley through Tibet. The latter kind of work is in great demand with the English tourists but is artistically mediocre, owing probably to the Kashmiri craftsman's lack of appreciation of the spiritual significance which underlies the idea of the Chinese dragon.

*Papier-maché*, is in a flourishing condition but the quality of the work has unhappily deteriorated owing to the demand for cheaper goods. The old process of thoroughly wetting the paper, pounding it into one compact, homogeneous mass, forming it into different shapes, after which they were dried until they became hard as board, and finally painting it with designs of exquisite beauty, was a laborious task. What now passes for papier-maché, is usually an article of thin board covered over with lacquered decoration.

*Leather Manufacture.*—The importance of this industry is gradually increasing. Hill shoes and socks, boxes, saddlery, cushions, embroidered purses, *kiltas* (wicker-work barrels covered with leather and used for carriage of utensils, etc.) are the chief articles of manufacture. Owing to the defective knowledge of tanning, good shoes and boots are not often made.

*Basket Work.*—Like leather manufacture this industry is gaining in importance, especially since the introduction of English willows in Kashmir. The lead given by the Technical Institute in this matter is invaluable. Last year "in the examination of the City and Guilds of London in the first grade of Basket-Making, one of the students of the Institute stood first in the whole United Kingdom, including the Colonies and Dependencies."

*Paper-making and Manufacture of Arms.*—These two



industries for which Kashmir was once famous little more than half a century ago, are now practically extinct.

*Serpentine stone ware.*—Serpentine stone is the name of a bright green stone called in Kashmir “Zahar-mohra” and quarried in Baltistan. Cups, *chilams*, candlesticks, etc., are made of this stone.

### *Recent Improvements.*

*Education.*—The state has two first grade Arts Colleges, one Technical Institute, nine High Schools and a large number of Secondary and Primary Schools. The Colleges and High Schools are affiliated to the Punjab University. The people especially in the valley of Kashmir have shown great aptitude for English education. Primary and Secondary education is practically free. In the case of College education comparatively small fees are charged. The Technical Institute has been established with the object of improving the arts and manufactures of the country along the approved scientific lines.

*Circulating Libraries.*—The Durbar maintains two circulating public libraries, one at Srinagar and the other at Jammu. The greater part of the books stocked is of general interest. Attached to the libraries are well-equipped Reading Rooms.

*Oriental Publications.*—A well-staffed Department under a qualified Superintendent is engaged in the collection, collation and publication of a series of ancient manuscripts of great literary interest. The majority of the books already published deal with the well-known though rather abstruse Saiva philosophy of Kashmir. This undertaking has been widely appreciated.

*Communications.*—The means of communications between Kashmir and the external world as well as between the different provinces and towns of the State have been greatly improved

during the last quarter of a century or so. The Jhelum Valley Cart Road together with the newly constructed Srinagar-Jammu Road which passes over the Banihal Pass is one of the longest, if not the very longest, mountain road in the world suitable for motor traffic. For the convenience of travellers furnished Rest-houses have been built at every stage of about 15 miles along the entire length (nearly 340 miles) of this road. The bridle paths over the Pīr Pantsāl, Zozila and Burzil leading to the Punjab, Ladakh and Gilgit respectively are well kept and the arrangements for the supplies and transport on them are very thorough. Owing to the extremely mountainous nature of the country and the peculiar geological characteristics of the ranges which encircle the valley, it has not hitherto been practicable to construct a railway to Srinagar. The Jammu-Suchetgarh Railway, a short continuation of the Wazirabad-Sialkot branch line, is the only railway in the State.

*Irrigation.*—The most important irrigation works executed during the rule of the present Maharaja are the construction of the Ranbir Canal and the Pratāp Canal in Jammu, and the Mārtānda Canal and the Lāl Kul in Kashmir. Of these by far the largest is the first. It is about 20 miles in length and irrigates an area of over 55,000 acres.

*Telegraphs.*—The State has a telegraph line of its own, which connects Jammu with Srinagar and the latter with Leh in Ladakh. In 1919 the total length of the lines was 576 miles.

*Electric Installation.*—The towns of Srinagar, Bārāmūla, Sōpōr, Gulmarga and Jammu are now illuminated with electricity. The large plant which supplies the current to the first four has been installed at Mohora, a small hamlet situated on the Jhelum Valley Road, 53 miles below Srinagar. The Jammu Power House is a much less pretentious affair. In Srinagar, besides the State-owned Silk Factory there is a number of private rice-hullers and oil-presses which are

electrically driven. Jammu has also followed this example on a smaller scale.

*Sanitation.*—Only the two capital towns of Srinagar and Jammu are provided with Municipal corporations. The chief function of these bodies is to improve the health and the sanitation of the city they represent. Jammu being a much smaller town and more fortunate in its natural position on the top of a hill, presents little difficulties in this regard; but the problem of sanitation in Srinagar, situated as it is in flat low-lying ground in the midst of swamps, is much more complex. Some time ago a sewage scheme was proposed but had to be abandoned owing to the immense expenditure involved. It is, therefore, a matter for congratulation that in spite of these obstacles, great improvement has already been effected.

*Hospitals.*—All the hospitals maintained by the State—and they are many—are charitable institutions inasmuch as they give free medicines and free rations to such patients as are not capable of paying for them. The good they do is incalculable. The Medical Department likewise maintains a Vaccination branch consisting of a number of itinerant vaccinators who travel through all parts of the State and operate, free of charges, upon all who present themselves to them. Of all the activities of the Department, probably the best appreciated is that of vaccination. It has immensely reduced infant mortality in the State.

### *Scientific Departments.*

*The Mineral and Archæological Surveys* are the two most important Scientific Departments maintained by the State. The former has been lately reorganised by Mr. C. S. Middlemiss, formerly a distinguished officer of the Geological Survey of India. The activities of the Department are at present confined to making a minute and exact survey and

reporting upon the quality, extent and practical utility of the mineral deposits in the various parts of the State. The progress made is already considerable. The aquamarine mines of Dasu in Baltistan were discovered in 1919. The discovery of the existence of rich deposits of iron, coal and bauxite in Rissi, of " domes " suitable for the accumulation of petroleum in Ramnagar and Kotli, and of graphite, gypsum and ochre at Braripura, Nur Khwah and Ratasar in Kashmir province, has further added to the potential wealth of the State.

The Department is arranging for the publication of illustrated reports which, it is expected, will be useful both to the scientist and to the business man.

*Archæology : General.*—The Durbar takes a keen interest in the exploration and preservation of its ancient monuments, and rightly so, for unquestionably the best way of understanding the characteristics of a people is by a thorough appreciation of its past, which can most easily be understood by the study of such contemporary records as old buildings, epigraphs, coins, sculptures, etc. Of these ancient records, especially the first, Kashmir fortunately possesses a rich and most interesting variety. The pre-historic man is represented by a group of megaliths at Burzahom near Harvan. The ascendancy of Buddhism in the early centuries of the Christian era, when Kashmir formed a part of the kingdom of Gāndhāra, is illustrated by the historic sites of Ushkur (*recte* Huvishkapura, the town of Huvishka) near Baramula, where a number of beautiful terracottas have been excavated, and those of Harvan (*recte* Shādarhadvana, " the grove of six saints "). The latter is specially interesting as the sculptured bricks exhumed there reveal unmistakable traces of Sassanian and Central Asian influence, pointing to the existence of commercial, if not political, relations between the valley and those distant countries in about 400-500 A.D. For the following century we have the coins of the White Hun ruler Tōramāna, the terrible father of the still more terrible Mihirakula, who after

having devastated nearly the whole of Northern India, was on the death of his father forced to retire to the distant Himalayan kingdom.

The memory of Lalitāditya, the great conqueror, who ruled Kashmir in the first half of the 8th century A. D., still survives in the magnificent temples of Mārtānda and Wāngath and the monasteries and *chaityas* of Parihāsapura. His bold and generous character could hardly find a more suitable memorial than the ruined buildings. For, neither the rigours of a thousand winters which have since passed over them, nor the more merciless hand of the destroyer, has been able completely to efface the original grandeur of their conception and the broadness of their outline. Avantivarman (A. D. 855-882) the apostle of peace, and still remembered as the ideally just king, has to his credit that exquisite gem of architecture, the Avantiswāmi temple at Avantipur.

The decay of the art of Kashmir marks time with the decay in its prosperity. The dimensions of buildings and their artistic value gradually go on dwindling until they finally disappear with the destruction of the Hindu power and the ascendancy of Islām.

The history of the Muhammedan supremacy, as it can be traced in the contemporary records, is equally interesting.

The peculiar shape of the wooden mosques of Kashmir, which is so distinctly reminiscent of the Buddhist *chortens* of Tibet, probably owes its origin to the ingenuity of Rinchana (A. D. 1319-1322), the first Muhammadan ruler of Kashmir, who was himself a Tibetan. Later, when Sikandar instituted a campaign of relentless and wholesale destruction of Hindu temples, we encounter another style of architecture. The site of the desecrated temple was occupied by the new mosque, which was a small square structure built of the materials of the edifice it had supplanted. The best examples of this style are the mosque of Madīn Sahib at Srinagar and the ruins of the mosque at Vitsārnāg.

Later in the field came the Mughals. When Akbar, the first and greatest of them all, annexed the country, it was famine-stricken and torn by civil feuds. The construction of the Hariparbat fort was intended to act as a salve for both sores, for it not only overawed the turbulent city but also provided employment for its famished multitudes. A splendid tribute to his equity and fatherly care of his people is furnished by the following verse—it also throws an interesting sidelight on the conditions generally prevailing in those days in the inscription on the Kāṭni Darwāza of the fort: *Na kardah hēchkas bēgār ānjā, Tamāmī yāftand az makhzanash zar*: “no one was forced to work there without wages, all received their dues from his treasury.” The more sumptuous taste and the ease-loving disposition of his successors is exemplified by the beautiful gardens of Shālamār Nishāt, Achhabal and Vērṇāg.

Hardly any monument, worthy the name, of the Pathans exists in Kashmir. Even the painful memory of their misrule is fast fading in the long peace and security of life and property which the country has been enjoying under the present dynasty.

*Early Architecture.*—In the first five or six centuries of the Christian era, the architects of Kashmir seem to have closely copied the well-known architectural style of the Buddhist kingdom of Gandhāra. Many *stūpas* and monasteries must have been built, though only a few have survived. The materials used were rubble stones, river pebbles and chips from stone quarries. The last two were used either exclusively or mixed with large stones to form a diaper pattern.

*Mediæval Architecture.*—But as time went on, Kashmir evolved a more elaborate and ornamental architectural style which, although it undoubtedly derived its original inspiration from Gandhāra, did, nevertheless, possess important distinguishing characteristics of its own. The best known examples are the Mārṭānda temple and the Avantiswami temple.

This style of architecture was columnar and trabeated. It depended for its effect upon (1) the simplicity and unity of its design, (2) the extraordinary massiveness of the blocks of the limestone and granite employed, (3) the finish of dressing and carving and (4) the natural beauty of the site chosen for the erection of the edifice. The temple usually comprises a rectangular peristyle pierced with cells, facing the courtyard, and a shrine consisting, commonly, of a single chamber with a portico situated in the centre. The entrance which is almost equal in dimensions to the main shrine is a double-chambered structure and is built in the middle of one of the shorter sides of the peristyle.

Perhaps the most striking feature of this style is the majestic colonnade which faces the courtyard on all sides. The columns are either round or fluted, but at the angles of the peristyle they are kept square. The ornament on the walls and friezes consists of sculptural reliefs intermingled with geometrical patterns.

The roofs are pyramids of two or three stories. The lower stories are truncated and marked off from each other by ornamental string-courses. The topmost pyramid is surmounted by a melon-like ornament.

*Muhammadan Architecture.*—The transfer of sovereignty from the hands of the Hindus to those of the Muhammadans was, in Kashmir, a purely internal affair and had nothing to do with the Pan-Islamic conquests of the 12th and 13th centuries. The absence of Muhammadan buildings of the Saracenic style in the early centuries of Islamic rule in Kashmir is not, therefore, surprising. Of the two styles of indigenous Muhammadan architecture, the best known and the most interesting is the Wooden Style. In the mosques and tombs of this style the walls and piers are usually constructed of pieces of timber laid across each other, the space between them being closed with brick-work. "In large chambers where the roof or ceiling require intermediate

support, wooden columns are used with very good effect. Timber trusses do not seem to have been understood by ancient builders, but they are now employed in restoration. The old method of supporting the rafters was by building up piers formed of logs laid horizontally. The typical roof covering consists of turf laid in birch bark which retains waterproof properties for a great number of years." The roof is pyramidal and is surmounted by a high steeple at the apex.

In plan the mosques are either square blocks like the tombs or consist of a group of square planned buildings connected together by a colonnade.

R. C. KAK



## THE KAUTILIYA ARTHASASTRA

(A Reply)

## II

The use of the words '*iti Kautiliyah*,' at the end of the sentences embodying the opinion of the author of the *Arthaśāstra* shows, according to Prof. Winternitz, that the treatise was not the composition of Kautilya, and that the words were put in by a later writer to pass it off as the outcome of the pen of the great minister. Prof. Winternitz, however, admits that the words in the third person can signify the author if he belongs to

What the use of the words '*iti Kautiliyah*' signifies.

a school of writers on the subject; and for this reason, he states that Patañjali never records his opinion in the *Mahābhāṣya* by saying '*iti Patañjaliḥ*,' while it is the practice of the Acāryas (schools) to state their own opinion as if it is another's. The nice distinction, that has been drawn by Prof. Winternitz between the authors belonging to schools and those not belonging to them, has no authority in its support. If the practice be true in the case of the former, there is no ground why it should be denied in respect of the latter. Prof. Winternitz gives us to understand that a statement in the *Mahābhāṣya* in the third person by Patañjali referring to his own opinion would have satisfied him, but it should be noted that Patañjali himself belongs to the Pāṇini school of grammarians just as Baudhāyana and others belonged to their respective schools on the particular subjects. I may point out in this connexion that the practice of referring to the author himself by the use of his own name is very widespread in India and is found to have been continued even in the mediæval period by writers of both Bengali and Hindi works, e.g., Chāṇḍīdāsa, Vidyāpati, Tulasīdāsa, Kāśīrāma, etc.

Prof. Winternitz points out as significant the silence of several treatises about Kautilya. The Purāṇas do not mention Kautilya as an author, the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Mahābhārata* are silent about him and neither Megasthenes nor any other Greek or Roman author knows anything about him. There may be many causes for their silence, and I do not think it safe from the standpoint of evidence-sifting to put upon it any interpretation of our own. The silence of the Greek Ambassador about Kautilya need not be a matter for surprise so long as we have to remain satisfied with only fragments of the *Indika*.

Prof. Winternitz remarks that the agreements between Megasthenes'

account of India, and the description of same as found in the Kauṭilya Arthasāstra, are of such a nature that they hold good in regard to the condition of India at all times. On the other hand, their differences according to him relate to the most essential details. Before I examine the instances that have been cited by Prof. Winternitz on the strength of Otto Stein's work entitled "*Megasthenes and Kauṭilya*" to prove his proposition, I should like to mention that in dealing with this subject, we should bear in mind the following points:—

1. As Megasthenes' *Indika* has come to our hand in only a number of fragments, we would be mistaken in drawing such inferences as could only have been drawn if the whole work had been before us. Prof. Winternitz is for this reason in error when he thinks it a matter for surprise (p. 19) that Megasthenes does not mention Kauṭilya.

2. As admitted by Prof. Winternitz himself (p. 22), "the descriptions of Megasthenes may in some cases be inaccurate or coloured for tendentious purposes." Profs. Macdonell and Keith, treating of the king's position in regard to land in ancient India, speak of the Greek notices on the subjects as those 'in which unhappily it would be dangerous to put much trust, since they were collected by observers who were probably little used to accurate investigations (of such matters), and whose statements were based on inadequate information' (*Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 214).

3. It is well-known that the authors, through whose quotations from the *Indika*, the fragments of same have been compiled, did not at times hesitate to alter the quoted passages to suit their liking.

4. Schwanbeck writes that though Megasthenes wrote portions of his account from personal observations, he had to depend in the rest upon hearsay and report.

In giving instances of differences between Megasthenes and Kauṭilya on the most essential details, he has included the silence of Kauṭilya about milestones on the roads as one such instance; but properly speaking, this is no difference at all, because when a passage in the Kauṭilya is in conflict with one in Megasthenes regarding a most essential detail, it is then only that we are justified in saying that such a difference has taken place. In a case like the present, Megasthenes should be taken to supplement the account in the *Arthasāstra*.

I shall now deal with the other instances seriatim:—

1. According to Prof. Winternitz, Megasthenes mentions that water for irrigation was carefully distributed to private people, while Kauṭilya knows nothing of such a distribution of water, but mentions private water-works. But Kauṭilya expressly refers to the presence of

canals which make the regions where they exist independent of the rain-fall in regard to the yield of crops (*Arthasāstra*, II, 24 *Re Irrigation.* *Kūlyāvāpānām ca Kālataḥ*). The agriculturists had certainly to make their own arrangements for the raising of water from the canals. The *ulakabhāga* (water-rate) varied according to the ways in which the water was raised.

2. What Megasthenes states in Fragment XXVI is that "such cities as are situated on the banks of river or on the sea-coast are built of wood instead of brick, being meant to last only for a time, so destructive are the heavy rains which pour down, and the rivers also when they overflow their banks and inundate the plains,—while those cities which stand on commanding situations and lofty eminences are built of brick and mud."

*Re Wooden structures* The reason assigned by Megasthenes for having the city built of wood is the destructive fury of the inundation of the river or of the rainfall. The chance of a wooden city catching fire was as great then as it was at any other time. The only means of avoiding fire was by using brick or stone or some other material not inflammable. That such materials were used within the city for the purposes of construction is amply proved by the excavations at Pataliputra. If the use of wood for the construction of the city be taken as an evidence of belonging to the 4th cent. B.C., the use of stone has the same claim to becoming a similar criterion; hence to distinguish that Megasthenes speaks of the use of wood and Kauṭilya of stone, and thereby Megasthenes is older than Kauṭilya is evidently wide of the mark. Moreover, the passage upon which Prof. Winternitz has based his argument is obscure (*Arthasāstra*, p. 52). According to Dr. R. Shama Sastry's translation, the passage speaks of roads of chariots and not at all of ramparts. If this translation be correct, then Kauṭilya's reasons for suggesting stone instead of wood in the construction of roads for chariots was to avoid fire caused by friction. That Kauṭilya is not a strict opponent of the use of wood will be apparent from his suggestion of the use of timber in the construction of *bhīmigrha* (*Arthasāstra*, p. 58) and other structures. Further, even if we suppose that the passage in the *Arthasāstra* speaks of ramparts, and Kauṭilya recommends the use of stone in the construction of ramparts, this recommendation by itself cannot make him later than Megasthenes, because the use of stone ramparts for cities dates as far back as the 6th century B.C., if not earlier. Says Prof. Rhys Davids, "we have an extant example of stone walls surrounding a hill fortress before the 6th century B.C., at Giribhaja" (the capital of Magadha before Pataliputra).

3. Prof. Winternitz points out that Megasthenes states that a private person was not allowed to keep either a horse or an elephant, as these animals were the special property of the king, and that Kauṭilya is silent

*Re Prohibition as to possession of horses, etc., by private individuals*

about it ; and because in the later work *Mṛcchakaṭika*, Vasantasenā owns elephants, Kauṭilya's silence has been taken by Prof. Winternitz as indicative of the later age of the composition of the *Arthasāstra*. But it should be remembered that even

in the Vedic period, private individuals were allowed to possess horses; for otherwise, the *R̥g Veda* (X, 62,8) would not have contained a *dānastuti* in which Manu is praised for making a gift of one hundred horses, and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (V. 5,4,35) would not have laid down that a draught-mare may be the sacrificial fee. Apart from these pieces of Vedic evidence, Megasthenes himself records the case of an owner of a white elephant, from whom the king of the Indians tried to wrest it but failed until the owner was killed. (Frag. LIII.) Again, in Frag. LVI, he refers to a half-wild Indian community 'employing these animals in ploughing and for riding on, and regarding them as forming the main part of their stock in cattle.' Arrian states that 'the animals used by the common sort (of Indians) for riding on are camels and horses and asses, while the wealthy used elephants' [Arrian's *Indika* (McCrindle's translation) ch. XVII]. The *Arthasāstra* also has a passage speaking of mares belonging to the citizens and the country people (II,30 'paurajāna-padānāmarthena vṛṣā badābāsvāyojyāḥ').

4. Prof. Winternitz points out that according to Megasthenes, women follow the king when he is going out to hunt, that armed women accompany him on war-chariots or horses or elephants, both in his hunting expeditions and into battle, and he adds that anybody approaching the women is killed ; but Kauṭilya knows only of men who accompany the

*Re Female guards.* king when going out hunting. That there were armed women to guard the king's person is evident from the *Arthasāstra* I, ch. 21 *ṭrīṅganair dhvanvibhāḥ*

*parigrhyeta* ; it is also found that women accompanied the king on chariots and other conveyances with umbrella, pitcher, and fan in hand (*Ib.*, ch. 27) and his route at the time of hunting expedition, etc., or march to battle was guarded on both sides by armed men and persons belonging to '*daśavarga*.' The expression used by the author is '*daśavargikādhiṣṭhītāni*,' which may refer as well to women-guards belonging to *daśavarga* (*daśavargikāḥ*). In these circumstances, I do not think there is such a difference between

Megasthenes and the author of the *Arthasāstra* as to warrant the inference that one is chronologically posterior to the other.

5. I do not understand why Prof. Winternitz has attached so much importance to Megasthenes' remark that there was no slavery in India. Smith points out in his *Early India* (p. 100) that "in reality mild prædial and domestic slavery seems to have been an institution in most parts of India from very remote times," and that Strabo on the authority of Onesikritos shows that "other

*Re Slavery in India*

authors do not seem to be justified in ascertaining that slavery was unknown everywhere in India."

Fick, on the authority of the *Vinayapitaka* and the *Jātakas*, shows that slavery was not unknown in India. Megasthenes substantially agrees with Kauṭilya because the latter says that no Aryan could be slave (*na tvaivāryasya dāsabhārah—Arthasāstra*, III, '3) except in times of extreme difficulty, while the Mlecchas could be slaves

6. The duties of the four castes according to Kauṭilya are found at pp. 7, 8 of the *Arthasāstra*. There the duties of the Vaiśyas are enumerated as study, performance of sacrifices, charities, agriculture, cattle-rearing, and trade. If the duties peculiar to a caste are not

*Re Indian agriculturists' part in war and harm, if any, done to their lands in war*

performed by the people belonging to it, then according to Kauṭilya, the society is ruined by confusion of castes (*lokaśśaṅkaiḥśucchidyeta*). And hence the king is advised to keep each caste attached to its

own duties. It was, therefore, normal for the Kṣatriyas to take to the military profession, and abnormal for the people of the other castes to adopt it. It was only by way of exception that they could take it up. This hardening of caste duties had already come into being in the Vedic period. In Vedic literature, 'the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas appear as practically confined to their own professions of sacrifice, and military or administrative functions' (*Vedic Index*, II, 260). The Vaiśya was really an agriculturist. Pastoral pursuits and agriculture must have been their normal occupations (*Ib.*, II, 333, 334).

Kauṭilya does not speak well of Brāhmaṇa soldiers, and approves Vaiśyas and Śūdras as composing an army provided they be very strong physically (*Arthasāstra*, IX, 2). Hence, Megasthenes is in substantial agreement with Kauṭilya in his remark that the agriculturists never took part in war or in other public services. That their accounts do not tally in every detail is, in my opinion, due to inaccuracy in the description left by the Greek ambassador who in spite of his long stay could not realize fully the spirit and details of the beliefs and institutions of the Hindus.

That the land of the Indian agriculturists was never devastated in war is also an inaccuracy of the sort pointed out by Schwanbeck (McCrindle's Introduction, 1.27) such as Vipāsā pouring its waters into the Irāvati, enumeration of the seven castes, mistaken account of the Indian gods, etc.; for it is impossible that a war should take place on a tract of land without any harm to the agriculturists of the locality, or that they would not suffer at all by the evils that come in its train.

7. A comparison of the accounts of administration as given by Megasthenes and Kauṭilya shows that the question of their agreement or difference turns on the following points, *viz.* :—

Comparison: accounts of administration given by Megasthenes and Kauṭilya.

I. Whether or not the substantive duties performed by the officers were identical or almost identical.

II. Whether or not the particular officers with their respective duties in the one account agree with the officers with their respective duties in the other account.

*Re I.* The duties mentioned by Megasthenes (Frag. XXXIV) are almost identical with those in the Kauṭilya. If we put together the substantive duties one after another as given in Megasthenes without mention of the officers by whom they were performed, we get a sketch which might well be missed as one drawn from the Kauṭilya. The parallel passages so far as they are available from the Arthasāstra are noted within parentheses by the side of the passages taken from Megasthenes :—

Comparison of substantive duties.

(A) *Outside the city*—

Superintending the rivers (*cf. Artha. II, 6*—reference to nadīpāla for looking after the rivers; *II, 28*—reference to rules for fording and crossing rivers; reference also to rules enforced at port-towns (panya-pattana-cāritram);

Measurement of land (*cf. Artha. II, 35*—*re. cadastral survey*; my *Studies*, pp. 112, 113);

Inspection of the sluices of the main canals for passage of water into the branches (*cf. Studies*, pp. 11 ff.; also my remarks *supra*);

Control over huntsmen (*cf. Artha. II, 34*—control of vivīḍa-dhyakṣa over the lubdhakas with their hounds);

Collection of taxes (*cf. Artha. II, 6 re collection of many kinds of taxes*);

Superintendence of the wood-cutters, carpenters, black-smiths, and the miners (*cf. Artha. II, 17 re wood-cutters*; *IV,*

1 *re* artisans generally; II, 12 *re* miners and workers in metals; see also *Studies*, pp. 5-11).

(B) *Inside the city*<sup>1</sup>—

(1) Looking after the industrial arts;

(2) Supervision of manufactured articles and their sale by public notice keeping separate the old and the new articles. [*Re* (1) and (2): for the supervision, *cf.* *Artha*. II, 15; 17; 23; 24; 12. See IV, 2 for prevention of sale of inferior articles as superior with the mention of punishment for the offence. That the enhancement of price due to bidding was resorted to is found in the *Artha* II, 6—*krayasaṅgharṣe vṛddhiriti* (āyah).]

(3) Supervision of trade and commerce, weights and measure, timely sale of products by public notice, and collection of double tax for dealing in more than one commodity. (*Cf.* *Artha* II, 16 *re* *panyādhyakṣa*; II, 19 *re* *Pautavādhyakṣa*, IV, 2 *re* regulation of prices; as there were separate impositions on different articles, more than one tax had to be paid for dealing in more than one article. There is no reason why double tax should exempt one who deals in, say 10 commodities, from paying tax on all the 10 articles. There is nothing in the *Kauṭilya* to support this view, and I think Megasthenes' statement is inaccurate).

(4) Collection of the tenths of prices. (*Cf.* *Artha*. II, 22.)

(5) Taking care of foreigners. (*Cf.* *Artha*. II, 36—ref. to provision for giving lodgings to travellers. Megasthenes' statement that their modes of life were watched may well be inferred from the system of espionage described in the *Arthaśāstra*. Two other details about them added by Megasthenes, *viz.*, escorting them when leaving the country, and sending their property to their relatives in the event of their death are not found in *Kauṭilya*. But there are in the *Kauṭilya* other details about the treatment of foreigners, regarding which Megasthenes is silent, *e.g.*, the foreigners could not ordinarily be sued, and foreign commerce was encouraged. This shows that they used to get good treatment.)

(6) Recording particulars about births and deaths. (*Cf.* *Artha*. II. 36.)

(C) *Charge of matters of general interest, e.g.* :—

(1) Repair of buildings (*Cf.* *Artha*., I, 4—the sovereign as the administrator of *daṇḍanīti* has to look to *yogakṣema* of material interests, including preservation of properties. *Labdhaparirakṣaṇī* included in *daṇḍanīti* also points to the preservation of properties. Repair of buildings

<sup>1</sup> The order of the items has been changed a little for convenience.

for their preservation falls, therefore, within the limits of the duties of Government. There is a reference to repair of *durga* in Bk. II, 4 (p. 57).)

(2) Regulation of prices. (*Cf. Artha. IV, 2.*)

(3) Care of markets. (*Cf. Artha. II, 16 ; II, 19 ; & IV, 2 ;*)

(4) Care of harbours (*Cf. mention of Pattanādhyakṣa and Panyapattanacāritra in II, 28*) ; and

(5) Care of Temples. (*Cf. mention of Devatādhyakṣa in II. 6.*)

(D) *As regards the military department, the duties are enumerated as follows :—*

(1) Those of the Admiral of the Fleet (*Cf. Artha. II, 28—Nāvadhyaṁṣa*. Prof. Winternitz takes exception to the identification of the Nāvadhyaṁṣa with the Admiral of the Fleet of Megasthenes on the ground that Nāvadhyaṁṣa had to do entirely with fiscal and commercial matters and had no concern with the military. I should like to point out that just in the previous fragment (XXXIII), the Admiral of the Fleet is described by Megasthenes as 'letting out ships on hire for the transport both of passengers and merchandise.' This shows that his supposition is baseless and the Admiral of the Fleet had to perform both civil and military duties. This is also supported by the contents of the chapter on Nāvadhyaṁṣa (II, 28) in the Arthaśāstra. There we find the regulation that the pirate-ships should be destroyed and that the ships of an enemy's country illegally crossing its limits as also vessels violating the harbour rules should be similarly treated. The taking of this step would not have been possible, if Nāvadhyaṁṣa had not under him vessels equipped with armed men to carry out the regulation).

(2) Those of the Superintendent of the bullock-trains for transport (*Artha. II, 29—Go'dhyaṁṣa*). The department under Go'dhyaṁṣa mentioned in the Arthaśāstra was utilized equally for civil and military purposes just as the departments under Aśvādhyakṣa (II, 30), Hastyadhyakṣa (II, 31) and Nāvadhyaṁṣa (II, 28) were meant to serve both the purposes. The Go'dhyaṁṣa had to take charge not only of bulls and cows but also of buffaloes, asses, camels, mules, sheep, goats and dogs. The Arthaśāstra mentions that an army utilizing in a large measure the services of camels, mules, and asses should be marched to fight in a region with scanty rainfall and mire. That there were special arrangements for the transport of provisions, etc., at the time of war is apparent from several passages, *eg.*, *vivadhāśārprasāra*, i.e., transport of supplies (XII, 4), the guarding of the roads for such transport (XIII, 4), use of carts loaded with fuel, grass, grains, etc. (XIII, 4), use of *vraja* (X, 3) including bulls for transport of goods, *vraja* meaning *gomeṣamajāvikaṁ kharoṣṭramasvāśvatarāśca*



(II, 6). [*Cf.* also first paragraph of X, 2.] There were also other uses of bulls, and trains of bulls (*go-yūthāni*) for the purposes of war, *viz.*, the harnessing of bulls as well as horses to chariots in the battle-field by a king having a small number of horses (*Artha.* X, 4; also X, 3; X, 6; XII, 4). In the description of the department under *Go'dhyakṣa* (II, 29), we find mention of draught oxen, oxen for pulling carts drawn by pairs, and bulls provided with nose-stings and equalling horses in speed and carrying loads. In view of these evidences, it cannot be denied that the bulls used in war were taken from the department under *Go'dhyakṣa*.

(3) Taking charge of the foot-soldiers (*cf.* *Artha.* II, 33—*Pattyadhyakṣa*).

(4) Taking charge of the horses (*cf.* *Artha.* II, 30—*Aśvādhyakṣa*).

(5) Taking charge of the war-chariots (*cf.* *Artha.* II, 33—*Rathādhyakṣa*).

(6) Taking charge of the elephants (*cf.* *Artha.* II, 31, 32—*Hastyadhyakṣa*).

Megasthenes remarks, "There are royal stables for horses and elephants, and a royal magazine for the arms, because the soldier has to return his arms to the magazine, and the horse and elephant to the stables." In the *Arthasāstra*, we find mention of an *āyudhāgāra* under a superintendent. It was to this magazine that soldiers had to return their arms after drill every morning. They could not move about with weapons without passport (*Artha.* V, 3).<sup>1</sup>

*Re* II. The question of allocation of duties to particular officers presents an insuperable difficulty because Megasthenes'

Comparison of allocation of duties.

statements are extremely vague. He says that officers divided into six bodies of five each looked after the affairs of the city<sup>2</sup> and the same number of bodies of five each looked after the military affairs.<sup>3</sup> A body of five officers had charge of the industrial arts, and another similar body of the manufacture of articles. To draw a boundary line between these two fields of work is impossible in the absence of indications of it from Megasthenes himself. Moreover, his statement is not also clear whether the five officers composing a body could also be members of any other of the six bodies mentioned by him for the performance of the civil duties within the city. In these circumstances,

<sup>1</sup> I am thankful to Mr. Narayanachandra Banerjee, M.A., for kindly drawing my attention to one or two parallels between the *Arthasāstra* and Megasthenes' account.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* the six divisions of duties under (B).

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* D (1) to D (6).

it is not possible to come to a definite conclusion whether the full complement of thirty officers composed the six bodies, or whether a lesser number was required for the purpose. One other obscure point in connection with these bodies is whether one or more superior officers with assistants composed a body, or whether all of them stood on the same footing transacting business by taking charge of particular departments and deciding controversial questions by votes, or by referring to a higher authority or to the king. Had there been a definite number of officers, an attempt could have been made to tally them with those mentioned in the Kauṭilya, for the latter mentions also quite a number of officers with their allocated duties. In this connection, we should not lose sight of the work of the officials belonging to the *Mantri-pariṣad* a group that was connected with the state-council but was entirely different from it. Kauṭilya states (I, 15) that the number of ministers composing the *Mantri-pariṣad* is to be commensurate with the strength of the state to retain their services and provide work enough for them all. These ministers looked after their respective charges, their duties being mostly of an executive nature. The king consulted the councillors as a matter of course, calling the members of the *Mantri-pariṣad* as well, only in regard to urgent works. (For further particulars, see my *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, pp. 35, 36.) They could easily have been associated with the heads of the various departments for the proper performance of their respective duties.

It is evident from the *Arthaśāstra* that each department of Government was put under several heads who were transferred from one department to another from time to time (II, 9—*bahumukhyamanityam cādhikaraṇam sthāpayet*) ; in a different connection (II, 4) Kauṭilya states that the departments of elephants, horses, chariots and infantry will be placed under several heads at a time, as by this arrangement they remain under fear of one another and free from liability to intrigues by enemies.

We now find the degree of correspondence between the two accounts in regard to the points touched by Megasthenes. It may be objected that the correspondence is due to the fact that the duties mentioned in them were usually performed by the Government officials in ancient India or in every civilized country in those days. The answer to this objection is that there are in the accounts certain features or collocations of features by which the accounts can be singled out as having a common basis, and this basis, by being the object of observation of Megasthenes, belongs to the reign of Chandragupta Maurya. Kauṭilya's account by

virtue of these common features is also equally old. In the whole history of India, I want to be shown another period, an account of which would agree so far as to be identical or almost identical with the sketch drawn above. \* There should be in that account, so far as the civil administration is concerned, a provision for the land-survey, compilation of vital statistics, irrigation through canals provided with sluices, superintendence over several classes of artisans together with a very great attention to trade and commerce, development of various industries including mining, regulation of prices of commodities, check on the correctness of weights and measures, and a sympathetic treatment of foreigners. To these should be added the special features of the military department. How is it that the divisions of work in this department should be six, *viz.*, one for each of the *caturāṅgabala*, one for naval defence, and one for transport; and that these six should tally exactly with what we find in the *Arthasāstra*. Moreover, there is another feature common to the two accounts, *viz.*, that the soldiers had to return the horses and elephants to the stables instead of keeping them under their personal care and had also to return their arms to the magazine. Various other ways of dividing the military duties may be suggested, *e.g.*, the horses and elephants could have been kept under the same officer, or the chariots and elephants under a common officer, and so forth. But we find instead the divisions as sketched above by Megasthenes, and they happen to be identical with the description found in the *Arthasāstra*. Is it likely that the agreement between the two accounts on so many points should be a case of mere accident, or should be entirely due to the fact that each contains but the features of Indian administration common to it in all periods of its ancient Indian history? I should point out that the coincidences noticed here are but a portion of a larger range of agreements bearing on the administration, the personal habits of the king, etc. (*vide my Studies on the points*), a few of which have already been touched in this paper. When these also are taken into account, the whole picture assumes an appearance that can never be missed as the panoramic view of any period of Indian history other than what Kauṭilya and Megasthenes profess to speak of.

(To be continued)

NARENDRA NATH LAW

## THE PANTHEISTIC ASPECT OF CHRISTIANITY

It is still a matter of pure conjecture whether the religious belief of primitive man was really monotheistic, polytheistic or henotheistic. From the available evidence one may conclude what was the belief of one of the earliest groups of men, but at the same time it may not be possible to determine definitely that such a group represents man at the very first stage of his existence. Thus it is not possible to state with certitude what was the earliest belief of man. However, in spite of such uncertainty, from the investigations already made, it may fairly be stated that monotheism was not the primitive creed of the human race. Some authors point to the history of the Persians in support of the contention that monotheism formed the earliest belief of mankind, as they believed in one God or Ormuz. But it should be noted that though this belief, mentioned in the Zendavesta, may be called monotheistic, there is no positive proof that it was the faith of these same people, before their migration into Persia, when they formed a part of the Aryan race. Max Müller thinks that the Zoroastrians were inhabitants of northern India, before their departure for Persia, and that they started westward, during the Vedic period, can be proved as conclusively as that the inhabitants of Messilia started for Greece. In his opinion it was probably some schism which brought about this exodus. I think the schism may have been due to their refusal to worship the Deity in a polytheistic form, which was then being introduced by their contemporaries in India, or perhaps to their desire to establish their new-found monotheistic faith, amidst the free surroundings of a new country.

There seems to be a general consensus of opinion that the Vedas have a greater antiquity than the Zendavesta. Dr. Haug is very explicit on this point. He says. "In the *Gathas*, which are the oldest part of the Zendavesta, we find the Zoroastrians

alluding to an old revelation (Yas. XLV, 6) and praising the wisdom of *Saoshyants Atharvas*, the fire priests (Yas. XLVI, 3, XLVIII, 12). He exhorts his party to respect and revere the *Angra* (Yas. XLVIII, 15), that is the *Angiras* of the Vedic hymns, who formed one of the most celebrated priestly families of the ancient Aryans." Thus the reference in the Zendavesta to the Atharva Veda would prove that the former is of a later origin than the latter, which is generally supposed to be the latest of the Vedas. Moreover it is stated in the book *Namah-Zaradusht* that Vyas went to Persia to hold a religious discussion with Zoroaster, and that the latter was told by Ahura Mazda that a very wise Brahman, named Vyas, the like of whom was scarcely to be found in the whole world, would come from India. These facts amply prove that the author of the latest Vedas was at least a contemporary of Zoroaster.

The uncertainty as to the exact nature of the Vedic worship will be apparent from a few quotations from the Vedas. There are many expressions to be met with which convey an idea of monotheism and the following passages may be cited in support of this view.

"I, O Man, lived before the whole universe came into existence. I am the lord of all. I am the eternal cause of the whole creation—Let all people look up to me alone as children to their parents." (Rig Veda, X. 48.)

"By one supreme ruler is this universe pervaded, even every world in the whole circle of Nature. He is the true God." (Yajur Veda, XL. 1.)

Passages like these would seem to establish the fact of the currency of a monotheistic belief in the Vedic times in India, some authors hold, on the evidence of the Rig Veda, namely,

इन्द्रं मित्रं वरुणमग्निं साधुरथो दिव्यः स सुपर्णो गरुत्मान् ।

एकं सद्विप्रा बहुधा वदन्त्यग्निं यमं मातरिसिद्धानममृः ॥

or, that, when several deities are mentioned in the Vedic hymns, one God is in truth worshipped, under different names, and

therefore the Vedic idea of God cannot be correctly characterised as polytheistic.

If the worshippers had been merely content to call God by many names their argument might have been tenable, as these names appear to define the qualities of the one supreme Person, *e.g.*, in Sanskrit **इन्द्रः** derivatively means 'the glorious,' **मित्रः** 'the friendly,' **वरुणः** 'the greatest and best,' and **अग्निः** 'the adorable,' etc. But the Vedic worshippers were not content to call God by different names only, but they also conceived the Deity as so many different personalities, each with a separate history and special functions. This cannot properly be termed a monotheistic form of worship.

It should, however, be remembered that the transition of thought from monotheism to pantheism and *vice versa* is an easy and natural process. As soon as the monotheist recognises the unity of God with the universe, his worship takes the form of pantheism. On the contrary, when the pantheist realises that there is but one Reality behind all existence, he is apt to conclude that all existence is God. So the apparent confusion in the Vedas between these schools of thought really represents the mental pictures of the people of that age, at different stages of their religious experience.

The assertion that monotheism was the first form of man's faith towards God cannot be upheld unless one is prepared to admit that God actually informed primitive man that he was the only God in the universe. But it cannot be seriously maintained that, at the earliest period of human history, such a revelation was ever made. In fact, such a theory is contrary to human experience about the working of the spirit of God in man, which progresses in his mind *pari passu* with its growth in intelligence. So if God's plan is to bring his children gradually into a fuller light of truth, then the prevalence of polytheism, and even idolatry, in the early history of mankind appears not to have been much blameworthy, in as much as all these must have originated from one primary desire of men to

seek after God and worship him. The Vedic worshippers of the forces of Nature and the idolaters of later ages are not to be ruthlessly condemned for conceiving God after their own imaginations, but they should rather be credited with the religious feeling, in their time, above their fellows, who were not able to detect anything Divine in the world. If their imaginations borrowed the materials of God from the sense-world it was better than denying his existence hidden from the senses and the reason which explains the sense-perceptions. So to these grand pioneers of religion the world owes the deliverance of the "hidden God." In Nature he was found rather than his existence denied. So if the former imagined gods in the various phenomena of Nature, and the latter taking the materials from the sense-world made images for their worship, in a spirit of reverence, they thought the gods were like the beings they met in the sense-world, and God smiled at their act as an earthly father would smile at that of his little children.

Though in the Vedas polytheism is found to be the prevalent form of worship, one notices a vague but irresistible conception of a pervading unity gradually asserting itself. Did not the Aryan worshippers imagine that in the phenomena of Nature they were actually beholding the outer manifestations of the Deity? I think that the majestic hymn of the Yajur Veda beginning with

“*हिङ्गागर्मः समवर्त्तत्यागे भूतस्यजातः पतिरेक आसीत् ।*

“*स हाधार पृथ्वीं आमुतेमां कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम ॥*”

consisting of nine other stanzas and ending with the same refrain, “*कस्मै देवाय हविषा विधेम*,” the true interpretation of which has been a matter of long-standing discussion among oriental scholars, records but the natural outburst of the Aryan worshipper's feeling, when at the dawn of a new light within his heart, he doubted, for the first time, whether his old form of polytheistic worship was right. *Fajnavalka*, the great, in his commentary on this hymn, in *Satapatha Brahmana*, interprets

the word "कस्मै" thus: "तस्मै कस्मै प्रजापतये" (or to God), for प्रजापतिर्वा कः, (or the terms प्रजापतिः and कः are identical in meaning).

This seems to be an unnatural and forced interpretation, for it not only sacrifices grammar but also distorts the meaning of the context, as the refrain plainly shows the doubt of the author of the hymn, as to who should be the object of his worship—God or others? But if it be taken in its literal and plain sense it records, I think, the newly enlightened state of mind of the Aryan worshipper, with its conception of the unity of God and of the need of modifying his form of worship accordingly. And probably this radical change in religious views brought about the split which led a part of the Aryan race settled in India, to move out into Persia and establish a new form of worship there.

The actual manner in which the transition from polytheism to monotheism took place, among primitive mankind, cannot now be clearly traced. It seems, however, plausible to suppose that, at the very first stage of human existence, the primitive man must have been struck by the natural phenomena around him. His first thoughts in the presence of the powers and the beauties of Nature, must have been those of admiration mingled with awe; and actuated by the desire of self-preservation, he naturally sought to avert dire visitations by such mighty manifestations. Gradually, the feeling of reverence became permanent in him, and his mind instinctively turned towards the authors of these phenomena.

Thus in the Vedas, perhaps the oldest of the religious scriptures of the world, we find the Aryans worshipping the various forces of nature, though the relative positions of the gods continue to change in the minds of the worshippers. The cycle of the seasons, ushering in changes in the scenery provided an opportunity for a corresponding change in their religious feelings. At one time a god, at the back of a particular natural phenomenon, becomes supreme over the rest; and at another time, another god, at the back of another natural



phenomenon, takes the position of the former. And also, at times, the identity of the different gods is felt in their minds. At a later age may not the Aryan devotee have thought that the powers of Nature, his gods, after all though appearing diverse and separate, were mysteriously related to one another or even were really one? When subsequently the worshipper's advanced thought led him to imagine the universe to be the one Reality, he began to believe that the God behind the natural phenomena must also be One. It would not be unreasonable to conclude that similar development in religious thought took place in other races of mankind, for after all "One touch of nature maketh the whole world kin."

It is a relief to find that if the venerable Vedic sages were engaged in their days in theological pursuits, they were simply content to realise the conception of the Deity as to what it is like and what it is not, instead of trying to analyse its ingredients by disquisitions that

"distinguish and divide  
A hair 'twixt south and south-west side."

And if they failed to arrive at a finality with respect to the exact nature of God, it need cause no wonder, as after centuries of thought and discussion man has not yet reached a definite knowledge about many fundamental questions even regarding himself or mind or matter. As to theology, we find that even in religions which are known to be founded on the belief in a personal God, such as Christianity and Brahmanism, there are expressions which betray the idea of an impersonal Deity, *e.g.*, "God is Love," "सत्यं ज्ञानमनन्तं ब्रह्म," etc. So with regard to a final solution of the question as to what God really is, we are not nearer to a definite answer than our ancestors were. The great Athenian spoke well when he said, "All that we know is that nothing can be known."

Coming now to a brief investigation of the primitive beliefs of the Jewish people, some authors are of opinion that in the

Old Testament monotheism is presented as the belief of the first man. But nowhere in it it seems to be clearly stated that God taught him that there was only one God. It is, of course, asserted in the Bible that God created the heaven and the earth, but there is no mention that Adam was instructed to that effect. Adam knew God only through his outward works, but whether his idea of him was polytheistic, pantheistic, henotheistic, monotheistic or anthropomorphic, is not definitely known.

The early Jewish belief is supposed to have been a monotheistic one; and Abraham, the founder of the Jewish tribe, an offshoot of the Semitic race, is said to have propagated it. Nothing, however, is known as to what his son Isaac did actually believe; but there is sufficient evidence to show that in the family of his grandson Jacob idolatry was not altogether unknown. After him, the uncontradicted evidence of Jewish history shows that the Jewish people, now and again, reverted to idolatrous practices. It is significant that even while Moses was in intimate conversation with Jehovah, receiving from him instructions as to law and the constitution of society, an ungraven image was set up for worship, as a ban had been placed on graven images. And indications are not wanting which show that from the time of the Judges to the end of the prophetic age, the Jews were constantly forsaking Jehovah and going astray after other gods. Throughout the books of the Prophets there runs a continuous wail of the jealous Jehovah, bitterly lamenting the fact that his chosen people were going away from him to serve other gods, like Baal, Moloch, etc. So that one feels inclined to conclude that though monotheism was the theoretical form of worship among the Jews, the practice was otherwise. In this discrepancy between theory and practice, we can see the great difficulty the Jews experienced in getting rid of the old Semitic instinct which was far from monotheistic. Renan's belief to the contrary, the statement that a monotheistic instinct was peculiar

to the Semitic race, has again and again been convincingly refuted.

In the Jewish Cabbala, which aims at interpreting the hidden meaning of the Old Testament, and the authorship of which is ascribed to the angel Razael, the God-appointed teacher of Adam, it is stated that the creation is a manifestation of the concealed God. Therefore, creation must be eternal, since non-existence can never become existence. In this thought one sees a wonderful approximation to Brahmanic philosophy, “*नाभावो विद्यते भावः ।*” According to the Vedantic philosophy there is no distinction between the soul of God and that of man, and there is no distinction between God and living entities, except what lies between the tree and its stem, branches, leaves and flowers.

Philo the ancient Jewish religious philosopher's explanation of creation savours equally of pantheism. According to him, the world is but the emanation of the Logos, which in its turn is the thought and the emanation of God. The conclusion, then, that forces itself into one's mind is that throughout the ancient Jewish thought and philosophy, there runs a very strong current of pantheism.

I then come to study Christian thought and philosophy. My aim is to call the attention of the reader to what appears as the pantheistic aspect of Christian belief. I am not unmindful of the fact that Christian writers have not seldom emphasised God's transcendence; but my object here is to elicit the evidence which would point to a pantheistic conception. So if my expressions appear over-emphasised, and perhaps even one-sided, at times, the reader will understand that I am aiming at the presentation of only one aspect of Christianity. My conclusions cannot be expected to be sharp like those of a dogma of authority, but I shall endeavour to show that they are worthy of the serious consideration of the student of religion, for their reasonableness. I am conscious of the streaks of sentimentality, at times, evident in my writing,

for which my subject is primarily responsible for stimulating my feeling. But I hope it will not interfere with the judgment of the reader, as I shall show that Christian scripture has established such a strong presumption in favour of pantheism that it cannot be altogether exorcised from Christianity: any attempt at its expulsion, of what has made it a live religion, will make it one of the book only.

To begin with, in Christian belief God or rather his Logos has become incarnated in the world, and in it are all things. It is also believed that the union of man with God will be consummated, some day, when through Christ the *summum Conum* of his redemptive work will have been accomplished in the world. Here the picture presented of Christ, to man's dull senses—the visible representation of God who is invisible—has a distinct pantheistic background.

In view of my aim, as set forth before, let me gather together the thoughts of some of the leading thinkers of Christianity on this subject. According to Dionysius, the Areopagite, who is said to have been converted by St. Paul, and afterwards became Bishop of Athens, there is a Universal Being, consisting of all grades of existences, from God down to the lowest creatures. God permeates all existences and he has called them to be the co-sharers of his existence, in different degrees, according to their respective capacities. The Divinity of Christ is both the cause and complement of all things, and within it all things are embraced and comprehended. This reminds one of the remarkable allegory in the *Bhagavat Gita* in which Krishna is represented as the '*Virat-Purush*' or the Stupendous Being, in which all existences have their being.

Justin Martyr, a famous early Christian father, thinks that as God is one being, he could not reveal himself to man except through some visible object. The cause of Christ's existence being God, and the cause of creation being Christ, as stated in St John's Gospel, the world and God must equally be one and

identical, as the effect is nothing but the manifestation of its cause,' "कारणमैव संख्यानं कार्यम्"

According to Hippolytus, an ecclesiastical writer of the first half of the third century A. D., a solitary existence for God cannot really be conceived, as he could never be without the word or wisdom. Therefore, all was in him and he was himself the all.

Tertutulian, one of the greatest writers in the Church of the West after Augustine, maintains that unlike man, God is both visible and invisible. He is in all places, in whom is every place and who is in no place—a distinctly pantheistic teaching.

Origen, perhaps the greatest theologian of the third century A.D., thinks that God is one, but Logos "the Word of God made flesh" which proceeds from the Father, is many. The time will come when we all will be the sons of God, and as the only-begotten one is Divine, by reason of sharing the Divine nature with the Father, so God will be all-in-all.

Augustine, the greatest theologian of the Latin Church, says, that God as the creative substance is diffused everywhere, and but for his presence in creation everything will cease to exist. In some of his writings may be noticed a pantheistic vein of thought, which he could not declare openly for fear of clashing with the prevailing theology of his time.

The teaching of Athanasius, who fathered the present creed of the Catholic church, may be summed up in one sentence, "God became man in Christ, so that through Christ man may be made God"—an idea which is palpably pantheistic.

In the Mediæval age the leading thinkers were seriously perplexed with the problem of creation which offers an insuperable difficulty in all theistic systems. Thomas Aquinas, though anxious to separate God from his creation, was conscious that theology demanded that such separation should be, in some measure, abandoned, and so, contrary to the professed design of his writings, he betrayed a desire to bridge over the chasm. According to him the eternity of creation cannot be refuted.

So he had to declare that the theory of a creation *in tempore*, though opposed to reason, can only be an object of faith. Duns Scotus, the *doctor subtilis*, says, that matter is but another form of spirit, and goes on to call God the materialised principle of all things. God, then, must be found, in some way, in all things. Roscellin, the founder of Nominalism, denies the existence of parts as separate existences from the whole. Servitus, whose philosophical views were in opposition to the ecclesiastical dogma of the Trinity, but which were like those of the early Fathers, says, "God is one and indivisible. He created the world out of himself—of his substance and essence. He actuates all things and is projected alike into Christ and man." According to St. Jerome "God is interfused and circumfused both within and without the world." Sinesius, Bishop of Ptolemais, says, that a fragment of God descended into matter. It is the one in the midst of all plurality. It is God that appears and God that is hidden.

John Tauler, a favourite with the German Reformers, maintains that God lives in man and that for this reason the annihilation of self is advantageous, in as much as man thereby returns completely to God, the origin of his existence. This sounds very much like the Buddhistic *Nirvana*. The author of the mystic book 'Theologia Germanica' is at one with Tauler. "The self must, in submission to eternal Goodness, be done away with in order to secure its complete emancipation." "The Perfect is that Being who has comprehended and included all things in himself, and in whom all things have their substance, for he is the substance of all things." William Law, a Cambridge divine, thinks that what is not God is an emanation of God. He is all-in-all; everything is in him, and men are the partakers of his nature.

According to Descartes, the founder of modern Idealism, man is finite. There must be one who is the complement of man's being—the infinity of his finitude, the perfection of his imperfection. There exists an Infinite being, and there exists

an infinite universe, and these two infinities must meet at a certain point. God is immanent in the universe. In the opinion of Spinoza, the material is only phenomenal, and its reality is only God. His being is distributed throughout all the different grades of the finite creation. For Fichte, who did not believe in a personal God, lest he should be compelled to ascribe limitation to the Absolute and the Infinite, Divine existence is only pure thought, and beyond that man knows of no other kind of existence. God is not in man only, but he is in all nature. Frederic Robertson says that the world is but the Deity manifested—God shown to the senses. According to Emerson, Empedocles was right in considering himself as God. The imperfect man in adoring the Deity worships only his perfect self. This reminds one of an incident in the *Devi Sukta* of the Rig Veda, where it is stated that Vak, the daughter of Amvrishta *rishi*, in singing hymns for adoring God, happened to sing hymns in her own adoration. According to Renan, some have limited and lessened God by excluding from him everything which is not considered his own self. Dr. Caird thinks that the finite spirit, considered by itself and not as a correlate of the Infinite spirit, is a mere abstraction. All finite existences must, therefore, be referred to an organic whole in which both the finite and the Infinite would be united. In his opinion the God of Christianity cannot be considered as a numerical unit.

(To be continued)

G. C. GHOSH

## THE EMBASSY OF SIR WILLIAM NORRIS, BART, TO AURANGZEBE

When the New or English Company was formed to engage in the East Indian trade, it was not only favoured with a royal charter, but Sir William Norris was sent out to forward its interests, invested with the dignity of English Ambassador to the Mogul—representing the greatest monarch in Europe to the greatest monarch in Asia, as it was pompously expressed. He was of a good Lancashire family, of ability and education, having been Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and of high personal character. In politics a Whig he was elected member of Parliament for Liverpool in 1695, in succession to his elder brother. Though he was the king's Ambassador and created a Baronet in order to give him a suitable standing, his salary and the whole expenses of his mission were paid by the English Company.

This was his first difficulty : that he was not simply the representative of the King, engaged on a mission for the benefit of his countrymen in general, but the paid agent of a trading company which was endeavouring to oust the Old or London Company from the privileged position it had hitherto enjoyed. This latter Company had no intention of dying out quietly. On the contrary it stirred up its agents in India to oppose by every means possible the success of the rival undertaking. As one means they were to buy up the Indian products and ship them to Europe, so that the new-comers might find less to buy and have to pay higher prices and then find the home market flooded with Eastern goods and so be obliged to sell at a loss. The Old Company also planned to send an embassy of their own, but this was dropped; instead an Armenian *Vakeel* was sent from Surat to the Mogul's court to create prejudice against the New Company and to prevent the Ambassador's success by all



means in his power. Sir William's dual character was thus a hindrance.

A second difficulty arose from his decision to land on the east coast of India and so journey to the Mogul's camp, the Emperor having no fixed residence, being engaged in constant warfare at the time. Sir William left England in January, 1698-99, and arrived at Masulipatam in the following September. The New Company's agent, whom the king had appointed English consul also, had reached that place a few weeks earlier, and was able to prepare a welcome. One reason for the choice of the port was that as yet the New Company had no representative at Surat, then the chief Indian port. Sir William Norris landed on September 25, marching with much state to his lodging in what had been the King of Golkonda's palace. Vast crowds came out to meet him; the Old Company as well as the New took part in the reception and the local Governor also met him. Popular entertainments, fireworks, etc., made the occasion a festival. The four English men-of-war which had conveyed the Ambassador and his numerous suite, soon afterwards left Masulipatam in order to execute their principal mission—the suppression of piracy, largely carried on by Europeans, in the Indian seas. In this they had a certain amount of success, but the squadron returned to England in 1701, too soon, it would appear, to have made an impression on the Mogul's advisers.

Then it became apparent that Masulipatam was not a convenient place for the despatch of the Embassy. Sir William duly gave the Mogul notice of his arrival in the capacity of Ambassador from the King of England, with the object of promoting trade and good relations; and in due course he received intimation that the various permits and mandates had been readily granted by the Mogul, so that he and his train could travel safely and unhindered to the camp. The permits, however, were very long in coming, and this

**The Calcutta Review**



**SIR WILLIAM NORRIS, BART.**



delay was caused not only by the great distance but also, so Sir William suspected, by intrigues and bribery conducted by the Old Company's agents. The months passed by without it being possible to make a start; and though he should have been on his way early in the year, by June he had resolved to change his plans and take ship to Surat and make his journey thence to the Mogul. In this he was encouraged by the New Company's officials at Surat, who undertook to have all preparations made; but he appears to have been determined chiefly by the suspicions he had come to entertain concerning the New Company's local agents. These ought to have been his principal assistants in his mission, and there seems no proper explanation of the nine months' delay by which they wearied him into the conviction that he could not proceed by way of Masulipatam. Sir William had had an early conflict with the Mogul Governor, but that seems to have passed over; his suspicions, however, were aroused by the local President's interpreter, and then rested on this President (Pitt) himself, with whom he quarrelled, and whose conduct he reported to the Court of Directors.

This incident shows that Sir William was lacking in the patience and tact required in an Ambassador. A thoroughly honourable and upright man he found himself in India surrounded by scheming and ambitious men and began to suspect fraud and deceit in every action. Nothing was to be done with the Mogul Governors and officials except by bribery, and Sir William, offensive as it must have been to him, eventually had to do the same as others. Probably he did not do it skilfully, as is revealed by an incident he tells of his later negotiations. Suspecting that an offer of 1,000 *mohurs* to one of the Mogul's chief advisers had not been duly conveyed to him, he took the opportunity of a letter to him to "slip in" a promise of the same; but this direct method gave offence and the official became more hostile.

After wasting time at Masulipatam Sir William sailed round India to Surat where he arrived, after a four months' passage, on December 10. He was received with a salute from the Mogul's man-of-war, and made a state entry into the town on December 26, the Governor having received a large present. Here he met the New Company's President at the port, Sir Nicholas Waite, who at first appears to have done his best to forward the Embassy, and on January 27, he set out from Surat on his nine weeks march to the Mogul's camp. What chiefly annoyed him at Surat was the conduct of the Old Company's President and officials, who steadily refused to recognise him, and gave out to the local authorities that he was no Ambassador from the King of England, but merely the representative of a company of merchants. He heard also that Sir John Gayer, Governor of Bombay, the Old Company's chief representative in India, who was then in Surat, had expressed Jacobite sentiments, speaking of the true king in France.

Sir Nicholas Waite, who at first assisted Sir William Norris, was an unscrupulous man, determined to injure the Old Company in all ways possible. On his arrival he was assisted by finding it in bad odour with the authorities. As already mentioned European pirates, including the notorious Captain Kidd, had been busy in the Indian seas and the Mogul was greatly incensed at the injuries done to the commerce of his subjects and particularly at the despoiling of pilgrim ships bound for Mecca, because this added sacrilege to robbery. The European merchants at Surat, including the Old Company's agents, had accordingly been forced to give an indemnity bond, promising compensation for those whose property was taken by the pirates. This bond was given about the time Sir William sailed from England, and is frequently mentioned in his correspondence. The New Company was not directly concerned in it, but the Indian Governors, and the Mogul himself, were little able or

inclined to distinguish between one body of English traders and another. The payment of compensation was resisted, and in the result Sir John Gayer and the Old Company's servants were confined to their factory for some years, with occasional intervals of liberty. Sir Nicholas Waite was active in the persecution, trying to fasten charges of piracy on the Old Company's ships. Sir William Norris, however, refused to assist him, desiring to do justice to all.

But it was to Sir Nicholas Waite that the Embassy owed its most serious obstacle. On his first arrival at Surat, without consulting Sir William, then at Masulipatam, he had written to the Mogul asking for various privileges for the New Company and had rashly promised to give security for navigation, subject to the granting of a separate *phirmand* for his own Presidency of Surat. In reporting this letter to Sir William he did not mention this promise, and so Sir William remained in ignorance of it. Yet it was on this matter of security for navigation, and compensation for failure to give it, that the Mogul chiefly insisted when negotiations were actually begun.

Sir William Norris reached the Mogul's camp near the castle of Parnello (Panalla), which was taken soon afterwards, at the beginning of April, and on the 28th of April was formally received in audience. His requests were at first received favourably, and all appeared to be going on well. But the Mogul's ministers assumed that Waite's undertaking for the security of the seas would be fulfilled, and when the Ambassador had to repudiate it the *phirmands* were delayed, until at length Sir William's patience was exhausted and he left the Mogul's camp on November 5. During this interval of waiting he had accompanied the Mogul on his marches, but does not seem to have had more than two interviews with him. The Mogul in the end appears to have been as wearied of the matter as Sir William, and wrote to one of his ministers that "if the Ambassador refused to give security

for the seas he might return to England the way he came."

Thus this long drawn out mission ended in failure. Some of the reasons for the failure have been stated already. The duration of the mission was another, making it very expensive, so that it proved a serious burthen on the resources of the New Company, whose agents were bound to supply the funds. The heavy bribery of the Old Company's agents had to be counterbalanced by other bribery; and apart from bribery there were so many Governors and officials of the Mogul who had to be "gratified" by presents that the mission must in any case have proved costly. At an early stage Sir William became convinced that the presents he had brought from England were not nearly enough for the multitude of expectants, and asked Sir Nicholas Waite to procure more. The more corrupt officials had every inducement to delay the issuing of the desired *Phirmands*, for the longer the negotiations could be extended, the more opportunity would there be for fresh bribes.

Sir William's lack of tact in dealing with his English colleagues has been noticed. He was not conversant with Indian customs and failed to make friends with the Mogul's vizier, and this through a mere matter of etiquette. Sir Nicholas Waite appears to have noticed the Ambassador's tendency to pomposity, for he warned him not to stand on nice points of etiquette with the Indian officials. Yet even with a more experienced and tactful Ambassador, success would have been difficult. A serious blow came from England; for though the New Company had the support of the King and Government, and it was given out that the Old Company would cease to exist in September 1701, this Company succeeded in obtaining an act granting it perpetuity. The news of this success reached India just at the time when the Ambassador was at Surat and ready to proceed to the Mogul's camp. The Indian authorities became more puzzled

than before as to the difference between the Old Company and the New, and as Sir William Norris and the agents of the New Company had asserted the speedy decease of the Old, their credit was greatly injured. Their word had proved false in this ; what reliance could be placed on it ?

Sir William left the camp on November 5, 1701. He had obtained the necessary passports but had not taken formal leave of the Emperor. Whether this behaviour was resented, or whether the Emperor was ashamed of his own uncourteous treatment of the Ambassador, or perhaps afraid of some English reprisal, by his orders Sir William was stopped on his return journey and detained at Brampore (Burhampuri) for more than two months. At length the Emperor sent him a letter and sword for the King, and a promise that the *Phirmands* would be sent on, and then Sir William was allowed to proceed. On March 12, after a month's journey, he reached Surat, where Sir Nicholas Waite, who had become very hostile, could scarcely be brought to pay him attention ; and he sailed thence on May 5. He had a rest at Mauritius in July and August, but soon after resuming the voyage he was taken ill and died at sea on October 10, 1702.

HARIHAR DAS



## A RATIONALISTIC VIEW OF POESY, III

### *The Reason and the Emotions.*

Poesy bears to the reason on the one hand and to the emotions on the other an extremely complex relationship, which requires analysis for purposes of classification. It owes its power and charm, and appeals for approbation, to both.

Biological evolution implies a destructive as well as a constructive process. Differentiation or successive becoming means change, that is, the conjunction of the processes of addition and subtraction. It means the addition of useful new qualities and the dropping of unserviceable old ones.

If civilization means a continuation of biological evolution this conjunction must be reflected in the civilized people as contrasted with savages. Useful faculties must have been added or strengthened while the unserviceable ones have either ceased to exist or become weakened. Civilization must strengthen the reason, the latest acquisition in biological evolution, namely, in that stage of it in which man began to develop and honour ethical, as contrasted with cosmic values. Is this invigoration accompanied by a parallel enervation of the emotions? On the answer to this question depends the distinctive value of a given civilization. Ancient Indian civilization at one stage of its evolution at least in the higher planes of life, moved in a line artfully chosen to strengthen the reason at the expense of the emotions. The emotions are in the plural and divided into good and bad, useful and pernicious. But Indian Philosophy made no discrimination. The annihilation of all the emotions without exception was the means, in its eye, of transmuting our whole being into speculative activity, lifting it into full freedom and fruition, at the same time dispelling all sorrow, and making impossible all titillative and tinglish pricks and

interferences of transitory environment. The Philosophy of Spinoza in the West closely approximates to this ideal of life. But since his time Philosophy has taken a new turn, and Western civilization never has had an opportunity of assimilating the doctrine of the great German Philosopher. Along with the development of reason it has, while substantially weakening some of the emotions, developed others in a monstrous fashion. No doubt the emotions which appeared to be useful for the environment of the moment or, say, of the age, were cultivated, while the apparently unserviceable or pernicious ones were neglected or discouraged so far as human choice had a hand in the progress of civilization. The latter emotions appear to be the ones, most in favour with the Muses; and this unlucky fact largely explains the developing decline of poesy with the developing progress of Western civilization. The best poets in Europe flourished in the early years of the modern era. Dante, Moliere, Shakespeare and Milton belong to that age. Subsequent poets have acquired fame for performances whose value is more intellectual than emotional. The general decline of poesy is acknowledged on all hands. What remained of the poetic spirit was finally crushed by the mechanical revolution of the closing years of the eighteenth century, when the military spirit, though itself vastly developed, had to yield precedence to the industrial spirit,—when the spirit of piracy though itself stronger than ever before paid homage to the economic spirit, that is, to the study of the dismal science. Unfeigned open-minded piracy had taken a new turn towards camouflage and disingenuousness. The Muses were left to starve in a fruit garden abounding with emotions, and to thirst for water in the ocean. The water was salt and the fruits were bitter. They refused to sing in praise of Hermes, who presided over trade and theft, that is, over the exploitation of nature and neighbour on a scale undreamt of before, and unceremoniously drove the damsels out of

Parnassus for their intransigent recalcitrancy. This is how poesy has declined in the West, where the prosaic pragmatic faculties having developed to climacteric heights are at the present moment threatening to dethrone the upstart deity, and to send him to St. Helena from the economic theocracy of Europe. Bolshevism is taking the lead in this new movement. Further, the desire to shut up Mars within his temple, and the consequent disarmament policy of the Western world, bid fair to mar the enthusiasm with which the worship of Hermes has been conducted so long with such splendid success. Thirdly, the exploited people of the world, the chief dupes and sufferers of trade and piracy are becoming self-conscious and self-assertive against the parasitic empire developed by Western civilization. Briefly speaking, Western civilization has developed by the power of unmusical emotions, which having driven out the Muses are now threatening to undermine that civilization.

The sentiment of honour is, no doubt, strong in Western nationalism but the passion of self-interest is stronger. The first lends itself exquisitely to poesy, but the second is repugnant to it. Hence, whatever poetic inspiration is roused by the former is effectually choked by the suffocating influence of the latter. The British Prime Minister in declaring war against Germany in 1914 A.D. treated the House of Commons to a lengthy lecture, which began with strong insistence on the demands of national honour, and ended with a detailed description of the British interests, which were likely to be jeopardized by the victory of Germany over France and Belgium. No poet would venture to write a poem out of the whole speech. He might be tempted to try his art with the first half. But such a truncated poem would represent a repugnant unreality which Anglo-Saxon taste would disdain to tolerate.

Altruism has played a large part in the civilization of the West, but unfortunately it is subordinated to egoism. Sympathy also is active; but, unluckily, it is limited to lucrative

beneficence, and is tainted by the limitations of self-interest, which cloaked by the pretence of benefiting others, looks execrable when discovered. The Muses have a horror of hypocrisy and sham. They love unpragmatic self-sacrifice attended with avoidable, unprofitable suffering rather than benefits bestowed with the eyes turned inward. They appreciate self-disregarding more than other-regarding virtues. Their aversion to Western utility overpowers their love of beauty, which, though not profuse, is not absent in Western civilization. But even the most exquisite beauty, subordinated to utility, rouses their indignation. The presence of half-concealed, half-revealed pragmatic purposiveness in the heroism of the West annoys the Muses, however beneficent and melioristic the ultimate issue may be to social welfare. The Victoria Cross is a wet blanket thrown upon them when advancing to signalize the heroic deed that called it forth. They are disgusted by the intrusion of meaner worshippers of true heroism, and they include governmental advances in such category. Public charity is corrupted first, by the collective idea of benefiting the soulless personality of society, and not the individual in distress, and secondly, by the favour of government bestowed on donors in the shape of titles, honours, civic privileges and other advantages. It is generally a barter or trade transaction, hitherto conducted, with a false show of decency, on the credit system, now persistently tending towards the more reliable and efficacious principle of payment in cash. Governments and international affairs are conducted on the combined principle of phenomenal appearance and noumenal reality. The universe looks like a universal masquerade, a Himalayan mock-ball. The Muses, as already said, have a horror of diplomacy, duplicity, sham and squinting unreality, which combines Jacob's voice and Esau's hands.

From the evolution point of view, as between the reason and the emotions, both parts of human nature, the reason

is younger than the emotions, and therefore ought to be stronger, unless it is still in its childhood. In the conflict between the two parties the chances were that the emotions should be either exterminated or enslaved in the course of Western civilization, like the Red Indians and the Negroes respectively in the progress of Western expansion. But in truth, while some of the emotions were starved and fettered; such as love and reverence, others were so pampered that they eventually challenged the supremacy of the reason in the governance of the world and the progress of Western civilization. Reason, instead of commanding, obeyed some of the emotions, generally the vilest among them, six of which are specially collated in Hindu philosophy as the most dangerous enemies of the "Central Monad" in man.

It has drudged, and worked wonders like the slave-artists of Greece. It has created constructive and destructive appliances, improved the useful arts and applied science on a stupendous scale. It has helped to find gratifications for the ascendant emotions by prostituting its heavenly faculties. The destructive weapons far outweigh the constructive ones, both mechanical and psychological. Here lies the secret of the ascendancy of the civilization for a hundred and fifty years and its impending decline. The psychological and ethical inventions are really more powerful for immediate good and ultimate evil than the inventions of Physics and Chemistry, though to the average mind the latter seem more weighty. Is not the cultivation of jealousy and self-assertion, as national virtues, more dangerous to humanity in the long run than gun cotton and poisonous gas? There are inventions which are purely constructive. There are also inventions which combine the two aspects. These latter are more dangerous than the former like camouflage, which is more mischievous than angry plain speech.

For my purpose, the estrangement of the Muses seems to be one of the most remarkable events in the history of the

passing splendid civilization of the West. The literary expression of unfettered reason ought to be pure science and noble philosophy, that of enslaved reason is Applied Science and ignoble pragmatism. Enslaved reason is known as practical reason, and unfettered reason, asserting and exercising primacy in the human mind is called 'Pure Reason.' Pure reason places its services at the disposal of the higher self; practical reason serves to aggrandise the lower self.

The conflict between the two selves constitutes the fundamental problem of human life. It appears under different names, *viz.*, man and the world; spirit and matter; soul and body; mind and nature; man and the universe; the self and the not-self. Reconciliation is found in god, the immanent; or god the transcendent; or, in monism or dualism. Sometimes satisfaction is obtained in mere compromise. In the West agnosticism is the prevailing tone of philosophy, while practical life is conducted upon the ethics of Hæckelian monism, which finds the spirit to spring out of matter. This denies all moral responsibility after death, and to all intents and purposes postulates the subordination of the soul to the body. Intellectual belief, however, is confused by the lingering vestiges of Christianity, and the average mind in the hours of contemplation, finds itself perplexed by the question which of the two selves should have the primacy in thought and action. The general compromise is of a too ludicrous nature to mention. It gives to the higher self ascendancy in thought, and to the lower self ascendancy in action. The compromise occasionally pinches the scruples of some people, but for practical purposes the higher self is as good as non-existent, and the division between pure reason and practical reason is a myth confined to a small circle of philosophers of the Kantian type.

Practical reason by placing its services at the disposal of the emotions tends continually to subordinate the interests

of the higher self to those of the latter. It brings forth pragmatism, psychological as well as ethical. It tempts human nature by the prospect of immediate reward, and turns it back by the prospect of immediate punishment. Psychological pragmatism is ennobled by the name of Humanism, as if it had a close relationship to Eudemonism. The general purpose of Humanism is to dethrone the higher self and to make the lower self the centre of gravity of the universe. Ethical pragmatism is ordinarily known as utilitarianism. The root principle of Western civilization is pragmatistic in both aspects. Pragmatism is another name for expediency. It looks to immediate human interest, though it pretends to take account of ultimate interest, and the whole interest. The "ultimate" and the "whole" are meaningless in a philosophy which denies finality to reality and truth. No wonder the pragmatism of Western civilization has exhibited brilliant success. But the Muses hate pragmatism. Nothing is more abhorrent to their nature than this last principle of human thought or human conduct. Thus with increasing success Western civilization has lost her poetry, her sense of the dignity of beauty, which she is trying to marry to utility. Even as a woman is married to a man, making obeisance to the latter and living in the subservience of obsequious inequality, Beauty is carried into crockery and industrial machinery, a Railway boiler or funnel for instance. Can the Muses be decorously invited to sing the glory of this desecrated Beauty? Poets have disappeared, and novelists have taken their place. Fine furniture, fine clothes, delicious tea in the morning, exciting football in the afternoon, provincial Newspapers in the evening, and flirtation thereafter.—These things form the charm of novels. They come in shiploads out of the Press every day, and corrupt tastes, tempt love, and strengthen pugnacity and international jealousy, sexual treachery, and parasitic brutality.

*Self-assertion : A Potent Cause of the Decline  
of Poesy.*

I have already indicated that poetry favours self-sacrifice and turns away from self-assertion. In practical life self-assertion is common, and self-sacrifice is rare. It may also be observed that in Western civilization, and among people who are slowly coming under its influence self-sacrifice is tending to disappear altogether. What is common may seem to be mere vulgar routine, but it seems to be more useful to human life; at least its usefulness possesses a greater immediacy. The theory of biological progress rests upon the usefulness of self-assertion. This usefulness must be immediate, for remote usefulness is meaningless where change is constant, and is, by its nature, invisible and therefore ineffective specially for purposive action. Sacrifice, whether caused by the self or what is out side it, is ruinous, preventing not only progress, but preservation. Self-sacrifice in the long run means suicide, and since being is better than not being, self-sacrifice must be regarded as a vice. And if the Muses favour self-sacrifice they work for the destruction of man, and ought not merely to receive no homage from him, but to be sent into exile or to the gallows. The decline of poetry subconsciously effected by man ought to form no subject for lamentation, but rather for rejoicing. We ought to have the courage to say that poetry is delightfully declining by the power of growing civilization like the heat of summer by the approach of autumn, or like the cold of winter by the approach of spring. But we never have this courage. There seems to exist some misunderstanding somewhere. But the above perhaps is the general tone and trend of thought entertained by the Darwinian, the pragmatistic, the progressive civilization of the West. It represents the general undercurrent of thought and is the guide of conduct. Self-assertion is specially useful



to men when they deal with people whose philosophy of life has a genuine respect for self-sacrifice. Since for several centuries the Western people have been in close contact with peoples of this last type, and have consequently acquired brilliant results, the undercurrent had been gradually curling up to the surface until the great war brought doubts and misgivings and weakened its force. The great war has so far done very little more in the shape of a mental turnover. It has created no new mentality, but only changed a little the strength of the old. The general psychology moves in the same line as before, but moves with a retarded velocity. Indeed, a psychology that has continually and almost uninterruptedly developed for four centuries with brilliant general triumphs and episodes cannot be expected to leave the pride-filled heart of the civilized West abruptly or without resistance, unless compelled by the force of more destructive and more convincing experience.

H. G. Wells in his recent production, "The Salvaging of Civilization" has tried to probe deep into the causes of the disaster and its prevention in future. He has gradually moved from objective ground to subjective base, from change of action and reaction to change of will ; from change of will to change of ideas and change of heart ; but he has not dared specifically to think of the change of the baneful emotions. He has not dared to ask for the conversion of the self-assertive spirits to the spirit of self-sacrifice or of indifference to self-interest, but only to broaden the outlook of that spirit by directing it to the benefit not of a sect or a class or a nation, but of mankind at large. The position taken up by him does not seem to be sound enough. Self-assertion, if it is allowed to remain alive, must have something or somebody against which or whom it can assert itself. Mr. Wells thinks it will be satisfied with asserting itself against mouse, mosquito and microbe, the harbingers of pestilence. But what poet can expect to receive from the Muses inspiration to sing his

glory of the hero who devises contrivances for killing minute larvæ and small litters?

Misunderstanding on the question of self-assertion arises from a lamentable lack of discrimination between the higher-self and the lower-self. The Muses do not condemn self-assertion, but the assertion of the lower-self against the claims of the higher. They reserve high encomiums for the assertion of the higher-self. The lower-self is incessantly engaged in asserting itself against the higher, and the problem of human life consists mainly in keeping the two selves in good working order. This problem implies a knowledge of the relative position of the two selves, and in checking any aggressive spirit in either. Neither self can live without the other in its present environment. Man must act as well as think. He must eat and drink as well as know himself and the world around him,—not so much parts of it in detail, but the entire universe as a whole. Generally knowledge of the parts is necessary for the life of the lower-self, and knowledge as a whole for that of the higher. The knowledge of Western civilization is almost entirely limited to the parts and has aggrandised the lower-self disproportionately. The process of life indicated by me implies the complete subordination of the lower-self to the higher. Whatever the method of attainment, however long the time required for attaining it, the ultimate conceivable goal of life must be to attain a knowledge of the world as a whole, not so much by summing the knowledge of its infinity of parts, for that seems impossible, but a knowledge of the whole in its essence, without which the parts would seem like an exploded plurality each flying in its course without definite relation to the others. The theory of pluralism started by James and supported by Schiller and Dewey, is calculated not merely to render nugatory the efforts of the higher-self to attain such knowledge but to reduce to inconsequentiality the very life of that self. Pluralism is associated with pragmatism, and it is not impossible that the intellect of the West,

already disposed to the knowledge of parts, will gradually reject the idea of the world's spiritual and ethical unity as a will-o-wisp, and discard the ultimate ideal of life as a sheer vanity.

The lower-self is interminably engaged in contesting the value of the higher-self. The war between God and the devil on the plains of heaven, and the vanquishment of the latter, who was hurled with his legions headlong into the sulphurous nebula of hell is an allegorical representation of the conflict between the higher and the lower self. If God had failed to assert Himself, and free heaven from the mischievous brood, Milton's *Paradise Lost* would have lost all its charm, and Christianity all its meaning. But the devil is deathless and is ever at work. If he cannot reconquer heaven he can cause worry and annoyance by pin-pricks and peculiar tricks. Having failed with the real God the devil is engaged in incessant harassing guerilla warfare with his image in man. The lower-self is the outpost occupied by him, and he is now in close contact with the higher-self of man, only parted by a narrow stream like the Rhine, which now divides the occupied territory from main Germany. The bridges and ferry boats, which connect the two banks constitute a real source of danger. They cannot be destroyed. They cannot be retained. That is the dilemma of the problem of human life. Germany has lost much vitality by the occupation of the Ruhr. The Ruhr cannot live without Germany. The embarrassment causes the Ruhr frantically to declare an autonomous republic, and to seek happiness under French suzerainty, ultimately bound to be converted into a province of the French empire. The grip of France continually increases in tightness, and no wonder the psychology of the Ruhr is imperceptibly changing into a leaning towards French domination. If Germany could assert herself in time the Ruhr might be saved. But Germany is caught in a huge net, and is getting exhausted by her unsuccessful efforts to disentangle herself. The whole history

of the occupation of the Ruhr looks like an allegory which places the dilemma of human life in a penumbic light of knowledge. Some people think Germany will never recover herself. Others hold the opposite opinion. Time is working beneath the surface, and the world is waiting for the ultimate reality. The idealistic absolutist thinks the higher-self will successfully assert itself and bring the lower-self under its own control as a co-operative part of life.

Self-sacrifice means the sacrifice of the lower self at the altar of the higher, and this self-sacrifice, as indicating the superior power and dignity of the higher-self, forms the subject of the best poems. The Muses, it will thus be seen, have no aversion to self-assertion, but only to the self-assertion of the mean and the unworthy, actuated by unapproved motives. Nobility and greatness are by cultured minds judged by motives more than by achievements. We associate higher motives with the higher-self, and lower with the lower. Indeed, motive in action is the criterion by which we distinguish between the two selves in man.

What is here called the lower-self is regarded by the Vedanta as belonging to the category of the not-self. It is the totality of the *upadhis*, namely, the vital spirit, the central organ of perception, the five senses, the material organic body to which is sometimes added the objective environment or the objects of the senses. The higher or the true self is attached to these *upadhis* by *avidya* or illusion. The problem for the true self is to free itself from the not-self, which by the power of *avidya* entangles it in a net of unreality, and generates in it a strange self-forgetfulness. What is ordinarily called self-sacrifice is really the sacrifice of the not-self or the unreal, and is not so much a merit as an obligation. Not a mere moral obligation, but an absolute necessity of life, if the self is to be what it really is, namely, a spirit free from the limitations imposed upon it by the chain of *avidya*, one end of which is held by the *upadhis* or the not-self, or the lower-self.

In Western philosophy the distinction between the two selves is founded more upon an ethical than a psychological or metaphysical base. The higher self is a creation and continuation of the lower-self in a clarified form, attained by the extrication of the self from all that is impure and sinful, disagreeable and noxious, and in a minor degree also from error. Thought as well as action is to be purified by a slow process of evolution, intellectual, moral and social. Society is a necessity—an absolute necessity of life. It is not merely the instrument of self-purification, but the reality in which all individual achievements in thought and action find their final fruition. In the perfection of society lies the salvation of mankind, and the salvation of the individual lies in the quota contributed by him towards that perfection.

Western civilization is founded upon the self-assertion of the lower-self, and its continued success has gradually thrown the interests, nay, the very existence of the higher-self into the shade. From the discovery of the new world at the close of the fifteenth century down to 1914 A.D. the history of Western civilization is the history of the war between the higher and the lower self of man. The latter has triumphed almost uniformly and completely, though there are facts tending to prove the contrary, such as the slave emancipation, the partial emancipation of women, the introduction of democratic principles in the governance of the nations. But it will be seen that it was not self-sacrifice, but enlightened self-interest that supplied the motive force in these generous achievements. Slavery was becoming uneconomical and wasteful; family life was becoming intolerable, aristocratic interests, harassed and worried by the encroachments of the bourgeoisie, led to the enfranchisement of the masses.

The achievements of science prove the triumph of Reason. But it may be perceived that it is not the pure Reason but the practical one that has played the more important part, and it is this last that by abject submission to the

lower emotions, especially the six emphasised in Hindu philosophy, namely, lust, anger, avarice, delusion, mania and jealousy, has laid pure science at the feet of applied science, has laid the majority at the feet of the minority of mankind, and of the nation, in a deeper sense than ever before by giving unprecedented scope to pugnacious gregariousness, to exploitation, colonization, economic occupation, racial expansion, extermination, expropriation, civilization and dehumanization in the various parts of the world of humanity. It has united mankind by mechanical appliances, while it has disunited them by clever ethical and social camouflage. It has created steamships, railways, telegraphs and aeroplanes; it has also created the science of ethnology. It has turned the entire world into a stormy sea. There is no peace. Every part of it is ruffled. Cross currents and counter currents move below the surface and blow above it. Ships are sent to bring in immigrants with large offers of remuneration and comforts, and then, when the latter claim the rights of humanity, they are either segregated or repatriated to enable them to escape worse miseries and humiliations.

Mere contact or association is not friendship or an indication of brotherhood. The battlefield is the most concentrated meeting ground, but few go there to part in safety. The higher emotions get no play in crowded meetings. The telegraph and the post, the steamships and the railways, the arteries and nerves of Western civilization are things, which mankind, as a whole, has more reason to regret than to be proud of. The exploited half have already come to realize the pernicious inwardness of these inventions. The exploiting half will realize it soon, but not until it is too late. The destructive contact which these gloriously infernal machines have brought about among mankind is comparable to the one, which, in the loving hug of Dhritarastra gave a drastic orientation to the iron-image of Bhima. Mahatma Gandhi showed true poetic and prophetic inspiration when he called this

civilization 'satanic.' He has been stigmatized as audacious (or out-dacious, as the Beadle, in *Oliver Twist*, pronounced it). But the civilized people, if they have eyes to see, must already perceive the pernicious inwardness of the civilization chiselled by applied science and designed by practical reason at the dictates of the self-assertive emotions. It is not the instrument or conveyance by which men are carried to the meeting hall, but the inward motive that suggested the convening of it, that determines the quality and issue of the meeting. The self-assertion of the strong against the weak produces dazzling results like a pyrotechnic display. But the self-assertion gradually grows reckless and disdains to calculate the strength of the opponent. It is then that this cosmic principle of life developed by the misappropriation of ethical camouflage comes to grief by its own desperate audacity and deafness to the admonitions of Conscience and the premonitions of Reason. The great war is an encyclopædia of facts and events by which the value of Western civilization can be tested. But the Western people never believe any truth until it is fully verified; and complete verification is looked for in another war for which they are preparing themselves. In Christ's unforgettable language they are already waging this war in their hearts. Western civilization is a naked evening light in the open, which attract people eventually to burn them to ashes. The author of "The Salvaging of Civilization" remarks that unless Western civilization can eliminate or control its pugnacity no other prospect seems to open to it but decadence, at least to such level of barbarism as to lose and forget again all the industrial and scientific achievements of the age. Doubts may still exist regarding the ultimate future of the civilization, but its debasing and destructive effect upon poetic inspiration is already clearly visible.

The lower-self is not a simple unity or personality. It has created within itself a vast number of selves by a process

of gemination. Among these created selves the collective or group-self may be regarded as the most dangerous to the individuality or the higher-self of man. The collective self has many forms, such as, the national-self, the professional-self, the class-self, the regional-self, the sect-self, etc. These selves are at war with one another within the microcosm, each trying to be its dictator, while the collective self of one group of men is perpetually fighting with the collective self of another group. Capital and labour form two such groups. At the present moment the war of capital and labour is undermining the economic structure of Western civilization, which shows symptoms of a simultaneous suicidal and self-aggrandising mania, aggravated by a confusion of altruistic and egoistic, humanitarian and inhuman, cosmopolitan and nationalistic sentiments. The devil never lives by himself. He draws a legion round him. That is his nature. Professor James says somewhere in his "Pragmatism," the devil is supposed to be a gentleman. The devil is dangerous in his unqualified character, but when he appears as a gentleman he becomes a doubly dangerous reality. By his traits as a gentleman, I mean, by his deceitfulness and camouflage, the devil has effectually turned out the Muses, who loathe nothing more than masquerading unreality. There is no dearth of poems in the Western languages but there is no poetic inspiration in them; most of them glorify the achievements of self-assertion, clothed in camouflage. The priggish Kipling tribe, however detested by the Muses, is immortal.

The combination of orderly chaos and chaotic order which Western civilization has spread over the world is a marvellous structure of dazzling brilliancy and blinding darkness. The self of man, endowed with a plurality of faculties by nature has been turned into a splendid, gilded pandemonium, which testifies to the artistic and architectural proficiency of that civilization. But the Muses who have an intuitive hatred of camouflage and confusion spontaneously



keep aloof. In short, the achievements of Western civilization, which lives and develops by self-assertion, and which, while pretending to derive its vitality and vigour from Christian love, tramples upon the Sermon on the mount, not spasmodically, but systematically, working towards a collective ideal in complete disharmony with the personal ideal of the human soul, and pursuing it by a method of self-assertion diametrically opposed to that of self-renunciation preached by Christ, must appeal to the Muses as a stimulant the discriminative response to which is flight. Neither Bismarck nor Kaiser Wilhelm will ever find a true poet to sing his praise. Neither Napoleon nor Nelson has created an epic though more than a century has passed since they dazzled the world by their achievements. Grabbing and grinding can create wealth and national prosperity; they cannot invoke the Muses. Neither the six emotions nor practical reason, manifested in science and diplomacy, can enthuse the Muses. Western civilization has conquered the world, a tremendous feat in the history of mankind; but has anybody ever had the imaginative temerity of writing an epic on this grand achievement? No, the subject is not merely complex, but consists of elements so unpoetic in character, that the Muses tremble in their places and take to flight to escape outrage and desecration when any historian, with a reputation for the poetic art, thinks of placing their thoughts concerning the panoramic event in rhythmic literature.

While the Muses loathe the self-assertion of the lower-self, they have nothing but admiration for the self-assertion of the higher-self. The latter asserts itself in the cause of truth and reality, of moral beauty and human unity, of personal freedom and feminine chastity, of sincerity and simplicity. The lower-self asserts itself to divide mankind in reality while ostensibly uniting them, to enslave the majority, to seek and secure power, privilege, comforts and luxuries, ease and repose for the minority, to establish differences of

rights for the sexes, for the races, for the classes, to dehumanize ninety per cent. of the species in order ostensibly to super-humanize, but in truth, to brutify the remaining ten per cent. in a sublimated form. The lower-self by asserting itself, *i.e.*, by enslaving Reason to its dictates, and systematically compelling it to use its creative energies for the subversion of the ethical process and for the corruption of its high ideals has been slowly reviving, in the dazzling light of the gorgeous periphery of Western civilization, the anthropological ideals of cosmic life under alluring conditions. Revivalism of any sort is denounced as a call to primitive barbarism; persistence in the present course of the world's life is leading to civilized barbarism, which from the spiritual point of view is worse than the primitive type. It is loathed by all right-minded people. It is loathed by the Muses.

Huxley lamented the failure of the ethical process in Western civilization, and predicted a world-wide insurrection like the one which has established Soviet government in Russia. Huxley's prophecy has been partly fulfilled sooner than he expected. The complete fulfilment is now anticipated by the best minds of the West. Until the fresh experiment comes in full force with a genuine sincerity of purpose the Muses cannot be expected to return from their hiding place to enliven and rejoice humanity. The slowly advancing triumph of the higher-self will again put the Muses in working order, and Homer and Virgil, Valmiki and Vyas will again enthuse mankind to new efforts for good, will again set the Sisyphean ball rolling up, perchance, to slide down again.

We must bear in mind, that in the ethical advance of humanity poems once admired for their beneficial influence become anachronistic, and instead of furthering progress, retards it. New poems suitable to each new stage of progress are necessary to maintain it and to raise it further. The truths of one age become unreal for the next; and the beauties

of one age, ugly for the latter; useful poems of one age become unserviceable in the next, and pernicious in the still further next. Ancient poems not only hamper progress but become positively noxious and accelerates the process of retrogression, when the Sisyphean ball has begun to slide downwards. Poetry must advance with the times, and new poems must continually replace the old. Every new epoch requires a new epic, and the failure of the latter means moral retrogression. The modern epoch has no epic for good and sufficient reason. What epics have been written have followed the ethics of ancient epics with new orientation of a hurtful nature, and have served to accelerate retrogression.

Epics should stop as soon as retrogression has begun. The failure of epics in the present age may be traced to this fact, for epics written under such circumstances can only accelerate retrogression. Kipling's priggish poems have had their due share in the decadence of Western civilization which has admittedly begun, and to prevent which statesmen are hastily patching up treaties and breaking them when necessary.

The term discord has a moral as well as an æsthetic bearing. Æsthetic discord is commonly felt as an acoustic ugliness. In ordinary parlance we call it noise. Noise is the opposite of music. Music is the gift of the Muses, and constitutes a fundamental quality of poetry. It is thus that the Muses preside over poetry. It might be a temerous assertion to make, but it is none-the-less true that in recent years poesy has developed more in metrical elaboration and diction than in rhythm, thought and imagination; and if I do not make any quotations, it is only because I desire to avoid giving knocks and shocks to predispositions invigorated by age, and to keep above polemics. The relation between moral discord and acoustic discord is not only precisely known, but it would seem that they shake the same or similar nerves in our constitution and they affect the same part of the brain. Now self-assertion and moral discord are all but inseparable.

Indeed self-assertion loses its significance and practical value if it leaves the rest of the world undisturbed, that is to say, if it produces no moral discord. I think the connection between the principle of self-assertion and the decline of poesy in Western civilization is amply established. That civilization is now doing its utmost not to trace moral discord to its source, but to contrive plans and schemes to sweeten its inevitably poisonous fruits. The growing development of the national-self in the Western mind with the progress of nationalism or pugnacious patriotism has generated a corresponding acceleration in the decline of genuine poetry. If the lower-self in its primary condition has any doubts regarding the calls of self-assertion and self-renunciation it has none when it has developed the collective self. The national-self knows no self-renunciation; it is born in self-assertion for the purpose of self-assertion; and if it hesitates to assert itself, there is the beginning of the end; it has grown old and senile, and its death is only a question of time. National decay means decline in national self-assertion. So long therefore as national self-assertion remains strong the Muses keep aloof. When national self-assertion declines by reason of weakness the Muses run further away. It is when national self-assertion, by a change of heart, makes room for self-sacrifice that the Muses turn back. It will be long before true poetry is revived in Western civilization. What is called the cultured mind in that civilization has a long struggle before it to enable it to claim the favours of the Muses. At present it is only mellowed parasitism, a slowly growing intellectual distaste for the fruits of assertion; when this distaste becomes sincerely emotional and widespread, the Muses will begin to bless it.

K. C. SEN

## INDIA'S PLEA TO HER CHILDREN

Like Sannyasi the Himalayas stand  
A brotherhood, all wrinkled, worn and grey,  
With snow-crowned brows for e'er upraised in prayer—  
Watching the changing centuries pass by,  
Guarding the sacred land of India  
Blessed by the gods who sent the Ganges down  
A pledge of their eternal love and care.  
When Egypt lay still cradled by the Nile,  
Fair India, with full o'er-flowing breast,  
Nourished half the world with her mystic lore.  
Here sung the bards who wrote the Vedic hymns,  
Here lived sweet Krishna, of the lotus feet,  
Here did Arjuna learn from Him the truth—  
And Gautama was born, with heart of love,  
To teach compassion to the sinful earth.  
Here dwelt great Akbar, broad of heart and mind,  
Who dreamed of brotherhood and justice true  
Here came the royal Moghul Emperors,  
Who ruled in state, a wonder to the world ;  
And here that super-woman, Nur Mahal,  
First saw the light, and wrought her noble deeds,  
And wrote her name in Beauty thro' Kashmir.  
Splendid, rich and fair, young India stood  
Bejewelled, and enwrapped in robes of gold ;  
But turns for e'er the wheel of destiny—  
And from the light down into darkest night  
Relentless Fate swept the dread, Karmic wheel :  
Then Egypt fell from glory to decay—

And Rome became the mistress of the world,  
 And Athens, like a goddess fair, lay by  
 Ægean Sea, crowned with her violets.  
 Turned, turned the wheel for them to shadows deep :  
 Jerusalem, the Holy City, fell  
 As Babylon into decay and death ;  
 For nought is permanent save constant change,  
 And Time lays low the kingdom of the earth.

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And now, see there she stands—'tis India :  
 With shrunken breasts, and withered, out-held hands.  
 Clad in a *sari*, tarnished gold and red,  
 Its folds draped round her white, and down-bent head—  
 With eyes aglow with youth's eternal fire,  
 Born of a soul aflame with fierce desire.  
 Her voice rings out in pleading, anguished tones,  
 And all the earth seemed rent with trembling moans,  
 Of those whose dust has mingled to uphold  
 The gul-morh trees, with blossoms red and gold.  
 " My children, oh, my children gone astray,"—  
 Cries the brown mother, old and bent and grey,  
 " Oh, hear ye not my voice ? Art deaf and blind—  
 That ye no more the Path of Truth can find ?  
 Lost, lost are ye, by superstitions led,  
 On fruits that turn to ashes ye are fed.  
 Lost, lost in ignorance, as black as sin,  
 Lost in your lusts, nor wish the light to win.  
 Amuck ye run, with false gods leading on,  
 Ye cannot see the New Day's rosy dawn.  
 How long will God have patience to endure  
 Your wantonness, and ways dark and obscure ?  
 Break down the castes and creeds that lead astray ;  
 Bring back the glory of my vanished day.

All, all are One ; cling to the endless chain  
 That from God's heart will guide you back again.  
 Know ye this truth—where human feet e'er trod,  
 By what-so name—there is One Only God :  
 All things are One ; by Brotherhood alone  
 Will vice, and sin and grief be over-thrown.  
 The sweeper,\* rigid Karmic laws will bring  
 As recompense, to be one day a king.  
 There is no caste to Him who made us all,  
 And only by our deeds we stand or fall  
 So are we made the arbiters of Fate—  
 'Tis we who curse or bless and compensate.  
 My children, oh, my children, heed my cry—  
 Rise from the earth and lift your eyes on high.  
 Let myths sink down to perish in the dust,  
 Where all false creeds and dogmas ever must.  
 'Tis love alone can save and bless mankind.  
 In Unity alone sweet peace you'll find.  
 Then like the Phoenix, by my soul's desire,  
 Once more I'll spring transformed from out the fire  
 Of grief and sin, of bloodshed and fierce pain.  
 To be renewed, *Great India again.*"

Like Sannyasi, wrinkled, old and grey,  
 The Himalayas stand, awaiting that Great Day  
 Stand ye like them, upright, enduring be,  
 And thus you'll win the right to be set free,  
 To rise above all Time, and Space and Wrong,  
 And join with angels in triumphant song.

TERESA STRICKLAND

## RAJA RAM MOHAN RAY

India is pre-eminently a wonderland and its wonders are not confined to the world of matter, but also extend to the world of mind. In fact, it stands unique, no country in the world equalling or even approaching it in that respect. But great as its material wealth is, it grows dim before its intellectual treasures which are simply splendid. India is the earliest home of learning, civilisation and religion. When most of the countries of Europe were still in a state of savagery, India had risen to the very height of progress. The Rig-Veda, which for the first time taught the worship of the one true God, is the most ancient book in the world. As for the learning of the Aryan Rishis of old, it is proverbial and certainly lacks a parallel. Indeed, no country on the face of the earth has produced so many sages and savants in all the various departments of knowledge, and, verily, has India had the reputation of being the favourite resort of the great goddess, Minerva. In this land of wonders—the cynosure of all eyes—there have arisen from time to time men who have cut a remarkable figure in the world's history, and who by their teachings and practices have borne unmistakable testimony to their having been commissioned by the Most On High to fulfil a divine mission. Their appearance in the world was quite opportune and plainly showed the finger of God moving silently in the matter. In the pre-Mahabharat period the true Vedic faith was in full vigour and glory; but when Tantrism followed, as it did not long after, the light of pure immaculate faith began to be dimmed by its overshadowing influence; and when after a lapse of time the darkness became thicker and more impenetrable, Buddha appeared on the outskirts of Nepal and by preaching the gospel of the universal love cut at the root of materialistic Tantrikism, casting unfortunately at the same time in the cold



shade of neglect the real Vedic faith as taught by the old Aryan Rishis.

Again, in course of time when Buddhism became decadent and the belief in one true God was placed quite at a discount, Sankaracharya appeared in Southern India.

But before a few centuries elapsed, pure Vedic faith which had been restored to its pristine purity and vigour by that reputed *anātūr* of God, whose name he so fittingly bore, again, suffered a severe reverse and had to give way to Pauranic Hinduism, which by this time had made headway, especially in Bengal. Gross Tantric rites which had their counterpart in the old Bacchanal orgies, had also come to be practised by a goodly number of Hindus. When true Hinduism was being overborne by all absorbing Brahmanical selfishness on the one hand, and by gross Tantric mysticism on the other, Chaitanya arose in Navadvipa who by preaching *Prem* (Divine Love) as the readiest means of salvation (*Mukti*), founded what is popularly known as Vaishnavism, which consists in the worship of Vishnu as represented in the person of Krishna. Chaitanya ignored caste and invited all and sundry to come and accept the faith preached by him. The land rang with the love songs of Radha and Krishna—the two in one and one in two—and *Prem* became the motto and watchword of his followers. People came trooping to him and swelled the ranks of his adherents to an extent which was not expected by his most sanguine disciples. The *Saktas* were alarmed, and they tried their best to put down the new religion, but with all their efforts they could not arrest the march of events which went on moving at a rapid rate. But as generally happens, before a century or two elapsed, pure Vaishnavism as taught by its devout founder, suffered a change and it was a change decidedly for the worse. Idolatry with its thousand and one superstitions and prejudices became rampant in Bengal and gods and goddesses whose number defied the attempt of the ordinary arithmetician to count, almost

monopolised the temples and towers. Only a handful of Hindus stuck to Tantrikism and continued to practise rites and ceremonies which, apart from their so-called mystic character, were not at all in consonance with Hinduism as understood by the wise and the devout; and to add to this very disturbed state of things, young Bengal whose minds were inoculated with Western ideas raised the standard of heterodoxy and created quite a tumult in society. When Bengal had lost its peace and was being torn by discord and dissension both in the social and the religious world, and the people were anxiously looking for a teacher and guide, the subject of this short memoir appeared, who by restoring the worship of the one true God as taught in the Vedas and by condemning idolatry and some other objectionable practices in the strongest terms, laid the foundation of that Theistical form of worship which is popularly known as Brahmoism. This new faith, if it should be so called, inculcates the adoration of *one Brahman without a second*, Formless, Invisible, Immutable, Eternal. The orthodox Hindu community who looked upon reforms of any kind with horror and dismay, rose strongly against him and threw all sorts of obstacles in his way. But nothing daunted, Ram Mohan Ray steadily careered onward, and, at last, succeeded in achieving considerable success in his laudable endeavour. He had to bear a very heavy burden of hardships and difficulties, but those very deterrents did him immense good by making him all the more confirmed and strengthened in his views and convictions. He with a small following led a campaign against idolatry with wonderful zeal and energy, and by battering again and again at the strong walls of its deeply-laid citadel, almost succeeded in taking it.

Indeed, Ram Mohan Ray was a host in himself and his name was legion. He was, as Professor Max Müller has described him, a prince among men—the first to go to the fight and the last to retire from it. But the great man's sphere of

activities was not confined to religion ; it had a much wider range and took in sociology, politics and, last though not least, education. To do good to mankind in every conceivable way was the guiding principle of his life, and he firmly adhered to it through good report and evil report. In fact, he was a marvel of humanity, the like of whom is not to be found in every country or in every age. His was a striking personality, and happy, thrice happy, must be the land that has produced one like him. Ram Mohan Ray is not only the pride of his own country, he is, also, the pride of the whole human race. He was an intellectual giant and performed doughty deeds in the moral and intellectual world. His talents were not only varied and brilliant but of an eminently useful character. He was the very reverse of a visionary or a theorist, and was always in the habit of looking at things in their practical bearing ; and if, perchance, he had to maintain a theory, he took care to maintain it on practical grounds. Like Xenophon of old, he seems to be a typical instance of a " sound mind in a sound body." He possessed solid judgment, a cultured intellect, a noble and a disciplined heart. Both morally and intellectually he would rank very high among men. Even his bitterest enemy could not deny that he was the first and foremost Hindu of his time. No one was more strongly impressed with the conviction that to do good to humanity was among the chiefest of worldly duties and privileges. The solemn text, " of him to whom much is given much will be required," seems to have been ever present to his mind ; and he always tried his best to act up to it ; and though his labours and acts of goodness were comparatively great, still he thought that in that respect he had not been able to do full justice to the superiority which he possessed over his fellowmen. The exercise of benevolence was associated by him with the greatest pleasure. To relieve the sufferings and to add to the happiness of others, was considered by him as a source of the purest enjoyment.

He had made a mint of money while in Government service, and if, as was said, there was some unfairness in its acquisition, the use to which it was put made sufficient amends for it. A large portion of it was spent in the service of humanity. Verily Ram Mohan Ray was one of the greatest philanthropists and reformers, who has been the liberator of his race from the thralldom and tyranny of bigotry and superstition.

Ram Mohan Ray did an immense service to his motherland. But he was not a mere patriot, he was also a cosmopolitan; and he conducted himself so very wisely and cleverly that his cosmopolitan feelings were never made to clash with his patriotism. His sympathies were of a catholic nature and took in the whole human race. He was Nature's gentleman and felt for all her creatures alike. Even distant Europe and more distant America engaged his attention and enlisted his sympathy.

Ram Mohan Ray was, also, remarkable for firm decision of character. He was anything but impulsive, and never put his hand to the plough without due deliberation and consideration. His great maxim was that no important measure could be improvised; every detail must be thought out before it could be taken up in right earnest. But once his mind had been definitely made up, his will was adamant, and, except for new light and information, to change his resolution, once taken, was impossible. No man could be more thorough. Combined with an extraordinary capacity for work were breadth of view, bold in the extreme, and admirable patience. His strength was that of a man who by sheer force of character and intellect had mastered himself and his task. Whatever he achieved, he must, indeed, he said to have richly deserved.

Ram Mohan Ray was pre-eminently a man of action and possessed to a degree that constancy of mind which is essential to such a character. Weariness of body seemed unknown to him. But even more important was his mental endurance. He possessed a singularly sane and well-balanced mind, in

which was found commonsense in an uncommon measure. He was firm in his judgment but open to conviction ; masterful yet without the fatal blemish of vanity or ambition ; profoundly instructed, yet wholly free from the taint of the doctrine. That last infirmity of noble souls—fame—he did not much care for. He was absolutely selfless and was always ready to make any amount of sacrifice for a noble cause. In fact, he was a marvel of a man and it behoves us all to try to follow his noble example.

As a debater Ram Mohan Ray stood almost unrivalled. In him was united a most logical head with a most fertile imagination which gave him an extraordinary advantage in arguing. No Christian missionary or Hindu *pundit* could bear the brunt of his attack ; and the result was that he always came out victorious. But though success almost always attended his steps, he was never found to indulge in abuse or ridicule. He was the very reverse of a scoffer or a jester, and invariably conducted controversies with admirable moderation and firmness. He had great control, both over his tongue and his temper, and never used any angry word or made any unseemly gesture. Indeed, it was really a pleasure to argue with him and in case of defeat one could bear it without much uneasiness. Ram Mohan Ray was a many-sided man and distinguished himself in several walks of life. He figured high as a politician, educationist, author, linguist and social reformer. Though not a lawyer by profession Ram Mohan knew enough of law and was quite competent to pass opinion on any legal subject that might be placed before him more especially on matters relating to the Revenue System of Bengal of which he was a thorough master. But high as these qualifications are they grow dim before the lustre of his character as a champion of religion, and it goes without saying that he would be best remembered as the demolisher of cumbrous idolatry and restorer of the pure Theistic faith as inculcated in the Vedas. In private life,

too, Ram Mohan Ray was great. He was an indulgent father, a loving husband, a kind master and a benevolent man. He was liberal almost to a fault, and yet his left hand did not know what his right hand gave. There was nothing like ostentation or even show in his charity, as his object was to do good to mankind and not to gain a name. It was all done in secret without fuss or parade. But though rich enough he used to spend only a little on his own person. He lived on simple food and generally wore plain dress. In a word "plain living and high thinking" was the guiding principle of his life. The greatest good of the greatest number was an ideal which he always kept in view. We cannot better conclude this short and hurried sketch of the good and great man than by reproducing the eloquent inscription which graces his tomb at Bristol. The obituary notice runs thus: "Beneath this stone rest the remains of Raja Ram Mohan Ray. A conscientious and steadfast believer in the unity of the Godhead, he consecrated his life with entire devotion to the worship of the Divine Spirit alone. To great natural talents he united a thorough mastery of many languages and early distinguished himself as one of the greatest scholars of the day. His unwearied labours to promote the social, moral and physical condition of the people of India, his earnest endeavours to suppress idolatry and *sati* rite, and his constant zealous advocacy of whatever tended to advance the glory of God and the welfare of man live in the grateful remembrance of his countrymen. This tablet records the sorrow and pride with which his memory is cherished by his descendants."

The spot where stands the funeral temple of the Raja is to be regarded, as one of his countrymen has beautifully said, "a sacred place for Hindu pilgrimage," and as a matter of fact, it is almost invariably visited by Hindu sojourners in blessed Albion, the land of the setting sun.

## LETTERS OF SIR ASUTOSH

[We note with pleasure that an endeavour is being made by the *Bangabani* to collect and publish Sir Asutosh's letters. Some of the letters which he wrote when quite a young man to his father and the letter (in Bengali) which he wrote to his second son, Syama Prasad Mookerjee, shortly before his death, are given below.]

The charm of the early letters, written when Sir Asutosh was 18 years old, lies in the writer's naturalness and simplicity. We see how a loving father sends his son, who had just recovered from illness, to Barrackpore, only fifteen miles from Calcutta, on the banks of the Ganges, for a rest and change. We see how the dutiful son keeps his father informed, by daily letters, of the progress made in his health and studies. We cannot fail to discern in the young writer distinct signs of the growth of a critical mind, which, in future years, seldom accepted things on trust and begrudged no labour to arrive at definite conclusions. We notice the solicitude of an elder for the progress in studies made by his younger brother and we are struck by the simplicity of the lad's student life, his simple fare of bread and milk, and, above all, by his eminently humane feeling that such a life caused others so little trouble!

The letter to his son, being the last letter in Bengali written by Sir Asutosh, is now full of pathos as he, who wrote it in the full vigour of his noble man-hood—the thought of the welfare of his beloved University uppermost in his mind then as ever—knew not that his voice would so soon be stilled for ever by death.] *Ed. C. R.*

(1)

BARRACKPORE, THE PARK.

1st June, 1882.

3-45 P.M.

MY DEAR FATHER,

I am glad to say that I have arrived here all safe. Satya<sup>1</sup> got down at Belghurria, whence he went to his maternal uncle's. Day before yesterday, when I came here, I was rather uneasy, owing to the jerking of the train; but to-day I am very well at ease, and do not feel at all the slightest fatigue.

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards a renowned Advocate of Allahabad, the late Mr. Satya Chandra Mookerjee.

Hari Babu<sup>1</sup> is making arrangements for my stay here; he is rather anxious, but I have told him that he need not at all be busy or put himself into unnecessary trouble; no formality or ceremony is required for me. I have got a separate room of my own, chair and table, so there is little or no difference between here and home. Arrangement has been made for two breads daily. I hope I shall spend the day, very comfortably here.

It is perceptibly cooler here than at Calcutta and the position of the house is of great advantage in this respect. It is facing the south; and as the wind passes over the Ganges before reaching us, it is much cooled down. The people say that to-day is rather cloudy and so sultry. But as for myself, it is cool enough, and I think that the climate would be very agreeable when it cools down as much as the people here wish it to be. My love to brother<sup>2</sup> and Hemlata.<sup>3</sup> Hoping this will find you all well,

I remain,  
Yours affly.  
ASU.

(2)

BARRACKPORE, THE PARK.

*2nd June, 1882.*

3 P.M. \*

MY DEAR FATHER,

I am really at a loss what to write: I can get no subject which to describe and thus fill my paper. However, I shall give you a true picture of how I have spent the time since I wrote to you last. The afternoon was very cloudy

<sup>1</sup> Maternal uncle of Mr. Satya Chandra Mookerjee.

<sup>2</sup> Younger brother of Sir Asutosh—the late Mr. Hemanta Kumar Mookerjee. He died soon after he passed his B. A. Examination in 1887.

<sup>3</sup> Sister of Sir Asutosh. She was afterwards married to Mr. Satis Chandra Ray, M.A., who is now a Lecturer in the Calcutta University. She died in 1901.



yesterday ; I set to walk in the evening, when a shower of rain came, and my clothes slightly got wet. We had a tolerably heavy shower, and the night was very cool ; the weather was very pleasant and the moonshine was really splendid. I got up this morning at 4 A.M. and read up to 5 A.M. Then I went to bathe ; the waterpipe is rather a little too distant, being nearly half a mile and back. It is, therefore, necessary to bathe early in the morning, the heat getting more and more intense as the sun rises higher. I then read up to 10 A.M. when I took my meal.

The most remarkable thing is the death-like silence of the place, no rolling of drums, no noise of tramcars, no drowning hum of a busy commercial populace. I see that the attention is very easily concentrated, and I can do more work here in two hours than I could do there in four. The monotonous silence is only now and then broken by Railway whistles. Satya has not yet returned from his maternal uncle's. I have been reading Burke from Goodrich and I hope to get a good way into it, before I am back home. Hoping this will find you all well,

I remain,  
Your affectionate son,  
ASU.

(3)

BARRACKPORE, THE PARK,  
*3rd June, 1882.*

MY DEAR FATHER,

This morning's post brought me your affectionate letter, written last afternoon. You will be glad to hear that I have no complaint whatsoever. Besides, Hari Babu has arranged to supply me with fresh milk both in the morning and in the afternoon just as I used to have at home. I take literally nothing but bread and milk, and now and then a slice or two of mango ; all this is more than enough for me. I now see

what great advantage there is in simplifying our meals; it keeps up our health and puts others to little trouble.

Yesterday, we had no rains, but the weather was not very hot. This noon is rather sultry, there being hardly a breath of wind. But clouds are already gathering up and we hope to have a good shower by the evening.

You say that the engine causes more noise than before. I remember that the Directors of the Company announced that there would be no noise. I wondered only how that could be. The noise can only be effectually removed by air engines; but even then the sound caused by the friction of the rails cannot be evaded.

Satya has not returned as yet and I do not expect that he will be back before next morning. I pressed him hard to read Trigonometry with me, and this had, perhaps, scared him away. As for myself, I have not been reading very hard, indeed, it is nothing more than indifferent. I am learning very little that is new; I only take care to see that I keep up what I have already amassed.

Last evening I walked some five miles at least. I saw the Government House and the Barrackpore School. This latter is a very fine-looking building of Gothic architecture rather small for a school house; there is a very attractive grandeur in its bald simplicity.

When I came here, I thought that the monotony of the place would be too much for me. But I find here one of my fellow students. Satish,<sup>1</sup> who stood sixth in the F. A. Examination from the General Assembly's Institution and who reads with us now, is living here. He sees me in the afternoon and I walk with him in the Park. He is a very good-natured fellow, a pleasant companion. Hoping this will find you all well,

I remain,  
Your affectionate son,  
ASU.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Satis Chandra Mookerjee of the *Dawn Society*.

(4)

## FACSIMILE OF THE WRITING OF SIR ASUTOSH.

*At the Age of 18.*

Barrackpore.

The Park.

4<sup>th</sup> June 1882

2-30 PM.

My dear father,

This morning's post brought me your letter just as I wished and expected. But the line which dear sister has drawn, rather served to surprise me. It has pleased me much; but I wish she could have written a better line; perhaps the tip of the pen was very sharp; a J. pen would have done better. a quill would have served best.

I am all well here. Last night the sky was very cloudy; but there was no shower; it drizzled for a

minutes after midnight,  
and the weather became  
more sultry than ever.  
I had no very sound sleep;  
but I have already made  
up the deficiency, and do  
not feel at all uneasy.  
I am reading as little as  
possible, and since morning  
I have not read even two  
hours. I am thinking on the  
hopes about the Frenchman's  
but I cannot find heart to  
add to it; however, I shall  
send it to you when I get it  
ready.

How is Darnold reading? I  
think he is not regularly  
writing his exercises on Latin  
and English. I wish I used to  
take; kindly love to this point  
Yesterday I went out much;  
I went only to the Cantonment.  
Your affectionate son  
Asu.

or Hungersham's Mookya

Bhowanipore.  
Calcutta.

(5)

BARRACKPORE, THE PARK.

*5th June, 1882.*

3-30 P.M.

MY DEAR FATHER,

I have not as yet heard from you. Yesterday was Sunday and I am afraid you posted your letter too late yesterday. I hope to receive it by the afternoon delivery. Last night was rather sultry and peculiarly hot; and though my sleep was somewhat disturbed it was far better than could have been expected. The wind is now blowing very high, and the sky is all covered with clouds; and we expect a very good shower within the next half an hour. Yesterday I walked to the Cantonment and some of the adjoining villages. There is nothing peculiar about them, except that the unwonted silence of the places only reminds of fabulous deserted cities. Hoping this will find you all well,

I remain,

Your affectionate son,

ASU.





## INDIAN BYWAYS: Literary and Pictorial

India is so enormous and so varied that it cannot fail to present some kind of appeal to everyone,—historian, ethnographer, scientist, sportsman, etc. The artistically inclined collector has an opportunity of finding books of coloured prints or engravings by European artists. Of these the former are becoming increasingly difficult to acquire, but there is still an abundance of the latter class of work.

The close of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth witnessed a growth of the spirit of adventure and a love of foreign travel. With it developed a wider and an intenser interest in India, and a desire for illustrated books. Edward Orme, publisher to His Majesty and the Prince Regent, was one of the earliest to supply the demand, with his *Twelve Views of Places in the Kingdom of Mysore* by R. H. Colebrooke, containing twelve coloured aquatints by J. W. Edy, the first edition of which seems to have been produced in 1794; the second appeared in 1805.<sup>1</sup>

Of Orme's other publications, with coloured illustrations, relating to India, may be mentioned his *Twenty-four Views in Hindostan, drawn by W. Orme from the Original Pictures, Painted by Mr. Daniell and Colonel Ward* (1803); *Picturesque Scenery in the Kingdom of Mysore*, containing forty coloured aquatints after James Hunter (1805); *Two hundred and Fifty Drawings descriptive of the manners, customs and dresses of the Hindoos*, by B. Solvyns (Calcutta, 1799).

The work of the Daniells is known to a wider circle. Thomas Daniell and his nephew William set out in 1784 for India, where they remained for ten years. As a result of their industry there was printed in 1810 their famous work *A Picturesque Voyage to India, by the Way of China*. Another nephew, Samuel Daniell, a painter and engraver, who died in Ceylon in

<sup>1</sup> See "English Coloured Books," by Martin Hardie, pp. 130-133.



1811, produced his *Picturesque Illustration of the Scenery, Animals, and Native Inhabitants of the Island of Ceylon* (1808), and a work entitled *Views in Bootan*.

One who cannot aspire to possession of the coloured books, may yet satisfy in very fair measure his ambition to have pictorial representation of India and her monuments, for there is an astonishing amount of sporadic black and white illustration in a certain class of literary publications of the first half of last century. About the third decade of that century there appeared a large number of annals and presentation volumes with articles on Oriental subjects, frequently illustrated. These dainty books made acceptable gifts, and were a usual ornament for the "centre table." They comprise the following among others: *The Oriental Annual*, *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap-Book*, *Heath's Book of Beauty*, *The Keepsake*, *Friendship's Offering*, *The Literary Souvenir* and later *The Chaplet*, etc.

The articles were intended for popular perusal, but some of them merit notice for their historical contents, as for instance: "The Doom of the House of Sassan," by W. C. Taylor, LL.D. (*Friendship's Offering*, 1838); the poem "Timour's Death-Bed," by William Kennedy (*Literary Souvenir*, 1833); "A Scene in the Life of Nourmahal," by L.E.L. (Letitia Elizabeth Landon; *Book of Beauty*, 1837).

In the *Book of Beauty*, for 1837, occurs at least one literary curiosity, a Paraphrase of Cap. 93, Al-Koran, entitled, "The Brightness," revealed at Mecca, by C. J. Kemeys Tynte.

In the *Keepsake* for 1833 appears a short tale "Pepita, a Mexican story, by the author of Hajji Baba," in which the simple maiden Pepita outwitted Gomez el Capador, captain of a gang of robbers, and did thereby "at once secure her fortune, and afford an example that in the humbler paths of life, are frequently exhibited some of the highest and most valuable qualities of our nature." In the issue for 1831 is found a poem of great dramatic vigour, "The Hermit of the Coliseum," likewise "by the author of Hajji Baba." Though both presumably

belong to the period of their author's best literary activity, for *Zohrab, the Hostage*, "one of the best of his novels," appeared in 1832, these could add nothing to his renown; they do, however, testify in some measure to the versatility of the enigmatical James Morier. He is now remembered perhaps only by his *Adventures of Hajji Baba*, that "foolish business of a book" which embarrassed for a time his position as Secretary to the Persian Embassy, but his *Martin Toutrond; or Adventures of a Frenchman in London*, a work described by one critic as "but the rinsings of a *testa* which did not retain the merest suspicion of the Falernian with which it may have been *semel imbuta*," contains an inimitable specimen of the pitfalls underlying idioms, and is worthy of citation in every Translation-class. Martin for greater facility drafted in his native tongue, French, a *billet doux* to an English inamorato. His inadequate knowledge of English, and his ill-applied consultation of a dictionary and a grammar, resulted in an English rendering which imported a comical element into an impassioned declaration of love: "It must that I speak. Silence weighs me. I can no more of it, beautiful and adorable Miss. I love you with one word—yes—or I talk or I burst. My heart and my hand are all at you. I throw myself, my body, my title-deeds, my fortune, my hopes to your feet: dispose them. Transportation enlivens me. I do not possess myself any more. I consume myself by a slow fire—I suffer from ardent spirits. Do not be without sense, you who make my sweets. The currents of my life will be sweeter if you regard me with compassion, but if you push me, bitterness and despair tender me their arms. Believe then to my love, O adorable Miss—believe I am ready to make a grand sacrifice. Yes—I make him—from this moment I make him—know your power. From this moment I declare myself. I pull out the word—I am Besette. I swear this upon Napoleon's cinders!"

In these rather neglected tomes one finds associated with India the names of artists honoured in Europe. David Roberts,

Samuel Prout, Clarkson Stanfield, T. Creswick, G. Cattermole, T. Boys, T. C. Dibdin, W. Purser, etc. But their connection is an indirect one, and one must deplore the fact that they did not visit it and employ their talents on its landscapes, temples and towers. It is matter for gratitude, however, that Captain R. Elliot, R.N., and Thomas Bacon, F.S.A., were enabled to place their Indian sketches in the hands of these masters for completion and preparation for the engraver, and to find, as Bacon states in his own connection, "the most distinguished artists of the day ready to correct the errors of his pencil."

The essay by Sir William Gell on "The Romantic History of the Arabs in Spain" (*Book of Beauty*, 1837), though not directly concerned with India, provides occasion for referring here to David Roberts, some of whose superb drawings of the Muhammadan cities in Spain, veritably dream-cities visualised, adorn *The Chaplet*. He started in life as a scene-painter, but was destined for a career of the highest artistic service, and also to attain recognition in his life-time. He went to Spain in 1832, and was one of the first of English artists to visit Egypt and Syria. The memory of both tours is preserved in his *Picturesque Sketches in Spain: Taken during the years 1832 and 1833* and *Roberts's Sketches in the Holy Land, Egypt and Syria* (published between 1842 and 1849). The "Gulf of Akabah, Arabia Petraea" is probably his most easterly scene. R. S. Lander in his "David Roberts, in Eastern Dress" painted the portrait of the traveller-painter. His beautiful "Hall of Judgment" in the Alhambra (*The Chaplet*) exhibits those same means which he employed in drawing the interiors of his churches,—a department of his art in which he is said to be unequalled, of giving space, height and grandeur to his architectural studies, and also "his method of animating these works by groups of worshippers."

The *Oriental Annual*, as its title indicates, is devoted to the East, and some at least of its issues, with sketches by T. Bacon, to India. But the most artistic of these publications is

the annual known as *Fisher's Drawing Room Scrap-Book*, "...a literary luxury, addressed chiefly to a young and gentler class of readers," as the gifted but ill-starred L. E. L. writes in her Introduction to the number for 1831, and whose connection with it, represented by her poetical illustrations, over a period of years, does not lessen its interest. The original sketches for the Indian plates were made by Capt. R. Elliot, R.N.

In mention of some of the engravings pride of place may well be allowed to Delhi, that Phoenix-like revives from out its own ashes. In the first years after the Mutiny, and long before there was any anticipation of her reinstatement in the seat of central authority, perhaps her most brilliant son, a genial yet exacting friend, an easy yet inimitable writer of prose, and a poet whose verses in Urdu and Persian are the delight, and often the despair, of his admirers, Mirza Asadullah Khan "Ghalib," wrote to a correspondent : "...my heart burns at the desolation of Lucknow, but do not forget that after this destruction there will be construction, spacious roads, that is, will come into being, and good bazaars result. He that sees it will praise it. But after Delhi's ruin there is no reconstruction ; ruin will proceed apace..." Elsewhere, deploring the decline in literary Urdu owing to the foreign elements in the population of Delhi, its home-land, and the disappearance of old landmarks through change and decay, the doughty champion of the highest standard of literary, nay, of all human, attainment, pathetic now amid his broken fortunes, and by reason of his long infirmities, wrote of it : "...In short the city is become a desert ; if the wells now disappear, and water should become a rare gem, its desert will turn into the desert of Kerbela. Alas, alas, Delhi folk still speak well of the local tongue ! What faith ! Well, Sir, the Urdu Bazar exists no longer, and Urdu is gone with it, and Delhi ! Alas, there is now no city, but a camp, a cantonment, with neither fort, nor city, nor bazar, nor canal !..."

Of Elliot's sketches may be mentioned one of "Delhi,"

finished by W. Purser (*D.R.S.-B.* 1831) ; one of the " Tomb of Humaioon,—Delhi," likewise prepared by Purser (*D.R.S.-B.* 1833), and one of the " Cootub Minar, Delhi " (*Ib.*). The finishing touches were given to the last by that wizard of the pencil Samuel Prout. It is distinguished by that richness of chiaroscuro so typical of his work, yet a feature which according to Ruskin determined its quality : "...If ever Prout strains a nerve, or begins to think what other people will say or feel ;—nay, if he ever allows his own real faculty of chiaroscuro to pronounce itself consciously, he falls into fourth and fifth rate work directly...." Here too one may observe that other feature, his power of expressing magnitude, to which Ruskin pays such glowing tribute : "...Prout was, and he remains, the only one of our artists who entirely shared Turner's sense of magnitude, as the sign of past human effort, or of natural force...In the real apprehension of measurable magnitude, magnitude in things clearly seen—stones, trees, clouds, or towers—Turner and Prout stand—they two—absolutely side by side—otherwise companionless" (*Notes by Mr. Ruskin on Samuel Prout and William Hunt*, pp. 32-35).

The sketches of the ruins and monuments at Futtehpore Sikri, the garden residence of the Emperor Akbar after his transfer of the capital from Delhi to Agra, passed through the hands of D. Roberts (*Orient. An.*, 1839), Y. Creswick (*Ib.*), and Purser (*D.R.S.-B.*, 1833).

Agra, the Akbarabad of Akbar, the Moghul Colossus, and the embodiment of dynamic zeal, who raised its status from a village to a magnificent city, has also had due meed of record. Its Fort is delineated by C. Stanfield (*Or. An.*, 1839), and the Jumma Mosque by Purser (*D.R.S.-B.*, 1831). The last mentioned volume yields what to many, if not to all, must surely be the gem of these black and white delineations of monuments of Indian history, that of the Taj Mahall. It has been reverently treated by Capt. Elliot in his sketch, Sam Prout in his drawing, and Robert Wallis, a master of the burin, This Mausoleum

of white marble built by the Emperor Shah Jahan to the memory of his Sultana Mumtaz Mahall, is one of the world's wonders, its design never failing to elicit the admiration of the architect, its beauty awaking deepest emotions in all. An atmosphere of tragedy too invests it, for in it rest the mortal remains of Shah Jahan, whose last years of life were passed in confinement in the Fort, to which he was condemned by his son Aurangzeb. Prof. Patrick Geddes once stated in the course of an address that he believed that in its creation was embodied a symbol, the mundane stir without, the tomb and its garden respectively representing the passage from life through death to immortality. Whether or no, it is fortunate that it was no other than Prout who collaborated in producing the illustration of the hallowed monument. One may be pardoned again quoting Ruskin with reference to this humble, industrious, sensitive, keen man. Alluding to the meetings of the old Water-colour Society in London, he says: "...It became, however, by common and tacit consent Mr. Prout's privilege, and it remained his privilege exclusively to introduce foreign elements of romance and amazement into this--perhaps slightly fenney--atmosphere, of English common sense," "...his drawings prepared for the water-colour room were usually no more than mechanical abstracts, made absolutely for support of his household, from the really vivid sketches which, with the whole instinct and joy of his nature, he made all through the cities of ancient Christendom, without an instant of flagging energy, and without a thought of money payment. They became to him afterwards a precious library, of which he never parted with a single volume as long as he lived (*Notes*, pp. 26-7).

Bejapore, Benares, the Ellora Caves, Ghazipore, Hurdwar, etc., monuments Hindu and Muhammadan, all are faithfully sketched, and Indian skies well treated, at this period when black and white is said to have reached its zenith of attainment in the representation of clouds and cloud-effects.

## REPRESENTATIO

### I.

To grasp, the hands are whole of me,  
    To walk, so are the feet,  
Each organ represents the whole  
    In ways unknown but meet.

But what of body and the soul  
    Yea, the soul must requir' it  
To lie in hell of darkest sins  
    Or live in heaven of merit.

They call our God the one great soul,  
    His body universe.  
His body's then His freest will  
    And He, the womb and hearse.

If universe His body be,  
    For him stands ev'ry soul,  
Each object of man's sense and mind  
    Thus presents the whole.

The Sun His glorious splendour be,  
    The phaseful moon His mind,  
The water is His freshness cool,  
    His breath the stir of wind.

The earth His all-producing womb,  
    Refiner He as fire,  
He watches over all as sky—  
    The one eternal sire.

Seek Him in all—all be but His,  
In very core and rind ;  
The stars smile glimpse of what He be  
Beyond His creature's mind.

The Scroll divine is spread on high,  
In starry script 'tis writ ;  
'Tis sealed with seal, men Sun, Moon call  
For him to read, who's wit.

Then worship Him in all of worth  
And love each tiny soul ;  
The child caressed, the mother's pleased,  
The least but stands for whole.

In all thy worship mind thou still.  
The world is but His causeless will  
He is, world is, if world were not  
Then yet He be, beyond all thought.

## II.

The log's afloat on Ganges' breast  
And perch'd thereon am I,  
With awe-fraught stillness hushed is world,  
Sun's rise from slumber's nigh.

All-sudden flies a fiery shaft  
From East horizon-bow  
And pierced is dying darkness' breast,  
Whence jets of redness flow.

Swift showers of arrows from that bow  
Now fall around, thick, fast ;  
A tremor runs thro' all that be,  
A magic glow is cast.



King Sun now steps upon his throne,  
From world he homage claims,  
And those must run to greet their lord,  
Unnumbered are whose names.

The switch is touch'd on speck of sky  
The world is charged with life,  
Life-currents flow above, below,  
All wake in joyous strife.

The beasts leave lairs, the birds chant love,  
There's music in the breeze,  
And fruits descend in colour'd songs  
From dew-bathed voiceful trees.

Ganges smiles her smile of heart,  
Bestirred by gentle oar,  
She is not deckt with gold or gem  
But wives and maids from shore.

I turn myself within to hear  
My King's supreme command;  
May I be granted by His grace  
The wit to understand!

"Creation's one as God is one,  
His sign of glory's call'd the Sun."

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

## AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

### II.

Long before the Agricultural Department was organised on its present basis, the attention of the Government had been directed to the necessity of providing water for agricultural purposes, not only to meet a general failure of the monsoon, but also because, even in good seasons, artificial irrigation was a necessity for the successful cultivation of many of the more valuable crops ; and the irrigation canals of Northern India, which turn to productive use the waters of the Indo-Gangetic system, rank amongst the greatest and most beneficent triumphs of engineering in the whole world. The Irrigation Commission of 1901-03, appointed at the instance of Lord Curzon's Government, sketched out a rough programme of irrigation extension for a twenty-year period, estimated to cost thirty millions sterling, and designed to bring into cultivation 6·5 million acres. Most of the main projects they outlined have now been completed and the field for the further extension of remunerative irrigation works is now very limited. There is, however, considerable scope for works of smaller dimensions which might not be directly profitable, but which would reduce the cost and mitigate the intensity of future droughts. There are various methods by which irrigation is accomplished in India. Apart from the splendid canal systems of Upper India, a very large area is irrigated by the cultivators themselves without any assistance from the Government, by the use of such means as wells, tanks, and temporary obstructions to divert water from streams on to the fields. There are at least three million wells in India from which water is lifted for irrigation, and in Madras alone, there are nearly 30,000 tanks irrigating between 2·5 and 3 million acres. Almost every known system of raising water, from baling in wicker-baskets to pumping by machinery, is practised in India, and the Divi

Island plant on the Kistna River is probably the largest pumping station for irrigation in the world. Some idea of the place of irrigation in the Indian agricultural system may be formed from the following figures: The total area irrigated in 1919-20 was 48,963,000 acres, as against 47,222,000 acres in the preceding year. Of this area, 20,550,000 acres were irrigated from Government canals, 2,647,000 acres from private canals, 7,337,000 acres from tanks, 12,692,000 acres from wells, and 5,737,000 acres from other sources of irrigation. Of the total area irrigated, 26% was in the Punjab, 22% in the United Provinces, 20% in the Madras Presidency, 12% in Bihar and Orissa, 7% in Sind, and the remaining 13% in the other provinces. The proportion of irrigated to total sown area in the various provinces is as follows: Sind, 79% ; the Punjab, 50% ; North-west Frontier Province, 42% ; Ajmere-Merwara, 39% ; Delhi, 27% ; and Bihar and Orissa, 23% . These figures do not take into account areas sown more than once during the year with the help of irrigation ; but only indicate the extent of land actually irrigated. Counting areas sown more than once as separate crops for each area, the gross area of irrigated crops was 53,019,000 acres (estimated) in 1919-20. Of this area, it is interesting to note, about 86% was under food-crops, wheat leading with 10,106,000 acres, other cereals and pulses occupying 31,940,000 acres and the remaining 3,416,000 acres being devoted to other food crops.<sup>1</sup> The total capital outlay on State irrigation up to 31st March, 1920, amounted to £51,447,375 which, apart from the advantages it conferred on cultivators, yielded a net profit to the State, after payment of interest charges, of about £2,275,600.<sup>2</sup> The annual value of the crops raised is estimated at over 150% on the capital outlay.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Agricultural Statistics for British India, 1919-1920, Vol. 1.

<sup>2</sup> For details, see p. 150. Statistical Abstract for British India, Cod. 1778 of 1922.

<sup>3</sup> The Moral and Material Progress Report for 1920 estimates the value of the crops on areas irrigated by Government works at considerably more than twice the capital expenditure on the works. See p. 116.

Among the projects for further extension of irrigation, which are, or will soon be sanctioned, are the Sarda Kicha and the Sarda Canals in the United Provinces, designed to protect the north-eastern districts of Oudh now extremely liable to scarcity, and to irrigate an area of 1,368,000 acres. The Sukkur Barrage and Canals project contemplates a barrage across the Indus at Sukkur, with three canals on the right bank, and one on the left. The new canals will irrigate 5·3 million acres, and the whole scheme will cost 18·4 millions sterling; but it has been calculated that the value of the crops lost in 1918-1919 alone through drought would have sufficed to pay the cost of the project. The Damodar Canal in Bengal has been designed to secure an adequate supply of water to the existing Eden Canal, and in addition, to protect a considerable area in the Burdwan District. The Kharung Tank, in the Bilaspur District of the Central Provinces, will consist of a large storage reservoir with canals taking off on either side. It will cost 0·59 millions sterling, will irrigate 97,000 acres, and will protect some 200 villages. The Government is also considering a very important project for the Sutlej Valley Canals, by which new irrigation will be provided for extensive tracts in the Punjab and the adjoining Native States of Bahawalpur and Bikanir, bringing some 3·75 acres of waste land into cultivation, and promising a return of more than 11 per cent. on the capital outlay. These projects in no way exhaust the irrigation programme; nevertheless they indicate the fact that the Government is fully alive to the situation and its needs.

The insufficiency of manure has been mentioned as one of the causes of the backwardness of Indian cultivation. Dr. Vocleker cites many instances to show that, while the ryot is aware of the qualities of both farmyard and green manure,<sup>1</sup> he is compelled by poverty to use his cattle

<sup>1</sup> Report, Chap. VII, pp. 93-96.

manure for other purposes. The wide use of it, in the form of cakes,<sup>1</sup> as fuel is highly uneconomical so far as the maintenance of the fertility of the soil is concerned, and this could easily be avoided by rendering available for the farmer a cheap supply of fuel. Rich both in organic and inorganic substances, both in nitrogen and in minerals, farmyard manure is the only manure containing in itself all the constituent elements of fertility. Agricultural proverbs, like "Old suck and lots of water" current among the peasantry of South India show that its high manurial value is generally recognised. But it suffers both waste and impoverishment from the manner in which the cattle are housed in open unsheltered yards, exposed to sun and rain; from the non-provision of litter to catch and retain the manure; and from the general ignorance of the value of the liquid element; and one of the duties the Agricultural Department has taken upon itself to-day is to teach the farmer more efficient methods of manure conservation. There is also another fertiliser available in large quantities, the use of which is certain to increase the yield of land. The success of the Flemish, German and Japanese systems is in large measure due to the utilization of night-soil as manure; and in speaking of Madras, Sir Frederick Nicholson has pointed out what a vast scope the country offers for the adoption of this plan of manuring. "In a poor country like Madras," says he,—and his remarks will apply equally to the other parts of India—"which, over vast areas, knows nothing of fish or bone as fertilisers, practises little green manuring except for rice, and poisons itself with the natural fertiliser festering on village sites, its proper use is all-important agriculturally and hygienically; properly used, it would be of the highest assistance not merely in the improvement of the soil, but in preventing its degradation to that minimum

<sup>1</sup> Varatties, as they are called in S. India.

productivity which, meagre in normal years, disappears entirely in seasonal conditions which a healthy, well-worked and well-nourished soil would successfully resist."<sup>1</sup> Prejudice is the great bar to the more prevalent adoption of this cheap and abundant manuring matter, but greater yields and greater profits will undoubtedly overcome this obstacle. There is also available in India another organic manure which again, owing to prejudice, is not made sufficient use of. Outside each village, says Hume,<sup>2</sup> is a golgotha, where the bones of all dead animals whiten and decay in ghastly piles, and at present this vast amount of phosphatic manure is running to waste. The use of artificial manure in India is yet in its days of infancy, and its relatively high cost will militate against its wider adoption. India, however, possesses sufficient substances out of which artificial manures may be manufactured at a low cost. An eminent Indian geologist has recently pointed out the occurrences, 'in almost fabulous quantities,' of gypsum in Kashmir, and referred to its possible uses as a soil stimulant.<sup>3</sup> Modern researches in America have shown that sulphur is absolutely necessary to plant proteins and that the sulphur content of coat farm products is much higher than had been previously suspected. The artificial addition of sulphates like gypsum to the soil not only confers all the benefits derived from acid phosphates but also encourages the sulphofying bacteria to work more energetically and increases the growth of the nitrogen-fixing bacteria. In dealing with the iron and steel industry of India, I have referred to the manufacture of ammonium sulphate and other fertilisers which is receiving attention in the Singbhum region.<sup>4</sup> Increasing attention is also being paid to the

<sup>1</sup> See his "Note on Agriculture in Japan," p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> See the Presidential Address of Mr. C. S. Middlemiss at the ninth annual meeting of the Indian Science Congress, 30th January, 1922, Madras.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide Economica*, London, January, 1923, pp. 57 and 63.

manufacture of guano, the number of private factories engaged in its production having increased by nearly 200 in 1920 in the Madras Presidency alone. Developments in the production and use of manure along lines such as these will prevent the Indian methods of cultivation from degenerating into a 'system of spoliation,'<sup>1</sup> and tend to improve the productive powers of the soil.

*(To be continued.)*

P. P. PILLAI

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## BENEDICTION

In your eyes lie the shadows of the hills ;  
The strange and poignant shadows of the  
Far-off misty purple hills, that rise  
Beyond the limit of the tortured Plains.  
Your eyes to me are cool deep wells of peace,  
Hiding from the cruel passion of the Sun ;  
Remote from all the strident noise and heat  
Of Tropic day. I seek renewal there,  
Within those tender depths where solace dwells.  
'They are my dreams, and all my recompense ;  
'They are the sanctuary of the soul ;  
They hold the promise and the hope of all  
My yearning visions, and the quietude  
Of sweet contentment and perfected love.

\*  
LILY S. ANDERSON

## IMPRESSIONS OF SIMLA

If there is any one thing to which I longingly look forward it is the Puja holidays. And the reason is simple. It is only during that fortnight that I recover my forfeited freedom: freedom to do what I please; to go where I please; in short, to follow my bent, entirely uninterrupted and uninterfered with. No one who has not been yoked to stern duties, or to the demands of an exacting profession, can realize or appreciate the joy of this regained freedom. During this serene interval there is complete cessation of dull routine work; there is a salutary change of surroundings; there is unbroken leisure to renew old acquaintances, or to do homage to old masters. During this charming armistice law recedes into the background, and art and letters assert their sway. I love this temporary freedom, and all the more as its duration is so brief, and all too soon is its end. During the last six years we have made six successive pilgrimages to that home of gaiety—that seat of the Bengal Government—which is known as Darjeeling. Without being ungrateful for its many kindnesses in the past, we decided to visit another shrine of pleasure this year, and our choice fell on Simla. And Simla, undoubtedly, is the greater of the two shrines, for whereas one is provincial, the other is imperial in its tone and bearing. To Simla, then, we turned our steps. But, oh dear, when we reached Allahabad, there were dismal rumours afloat of floods and landslips; of transhipments; of possible halts on the way; of all manner of distressing perils—real and imaginary. But, like true pilgrims, bent on reaching our destination and turning a deaf ear to these terrifying rumours, we went our way. The only thing we noticed was that the train



ran with extreme caution, and that we were held up, now and then, along our route. But safely we reached our destination, though ten hours behind time. Instead of arriving in daylight, we reached Simla at night. But this was not without its compensating advantage; for we saw the lights of Simla—shimmering in the distance—gorgeous in their splendour. They seemed like so many fairy-lamps suspended in the heavens, and lit up specially for some notable banquet of the gods. Very charming and impressive was the scene, and we felt absolutely spell-bound by it. Night soon slipped away, and when the sun rose, illumining the sky with its golden tinge, and shedding its light on the sombre hills, our sense of pleasure knew no limits. And how lovely Simla looked, bathed in sunshine and aglow with joy! It seemed to me a little paradise, free from the carping cares and petty vexations of life—a spot where humanity realized and acted upon the advice of the immortal Horace.

“If thou art wise, then strain the wine. The span of life is brief.

So prune thy far out-reaching hopes—the while we speak has run

One niggard minute: clutch to-day, and trust no morrow's Sun.”

And it does one good to be encircled with laughter and cheerfulness, even for a little, little while. And how interesting it is to watch from afar the snobbery and vanity of our kind—and we see plenty of both at Hill Stations—more so perhaps at Simla than anywhere else. The dominant note of the life there appeared to me to be a sabbathless pursuit of pleasure. Some sought it in the display of frocks and the conquest of men; some in the soul-absorbing game of bridge; some in that most delightful of vocations which is called “philandering”; some in trumpeting their great achievements; some in a quiet chat with friends; some in long and some in lonely walks; some on horseback—all, indeed, were

determined to make the most of their time and opportunities in their own, own way.

A capital opportunity, for the study of man, offered itself to me at a Garden Party which I had the honour of attending. There I watched the game of the wealthy, the aristocrat, the official, the courtier; and intensely interesting the game was. There, at one single spot, had gathered the cream and flower of society, in rich costumes, in gorgeous head-dresses, in fascinating gowns, in brilliant *sarries*. Men were all politeness; women all smirks and posturings. There were warm hand-shakes, pretty smiles, charming courtesies, proud humility, and a pervading air of loving brother and sisterhood. How my heart leapt with joy to see humanity so loving, so kind, so gracious! It almost seemed that the age of universal peace and love and goodwill—dreamt of by the poets—was at last realised on this earth, ending for evermore that era of malice, hatred, ill-will which has hitherto degraded mankind to a state of camouflaged savagery. It was a positive study in life to be there, and to silently watch the play. The great Heine has said, Let a man stand, for a while, in Cheapside, and he will learn more of men and their ways than any philosopher can teach him. Yes! Heinrich Heine—You always spoke the truth, and sometimes with a vein of intense bitterness. Let a man go to one of these fashionable resorts, and he will learn quite as much of men and their ways as he would in Cheapside. The artistically-laid lawn was dotted with the magnates of Simla, each well satisfied with his happy lot, and each the centre of a small group of admirers, all ready to nod, to smile, to laugh, to agree “according to plan.” Beyond these fortunate groups which directly basked in the sunshine of official favour there were less fortunate groups hanging around near by—whose members, with palpitating hearts, were seeking admission into the charmed circle. I could see their trembling frame; their expectant, eager looks; their alternating hope and despair.

I could see, in short, their extreme anxiety to secure a smile, a hand-shake, a few words of benediction from the mighty wielders of power—the high-priests of our Indian bureaucracy. But if the lawn was the theatre of Indian loyalty—more wondrous still was the scene enacted in the pavilion where Their Excellencies took light refreshment and received the homage of the *élite*. It was a sight to see these “chosen” not to say “peculiar” few walk up to that hallowed enclosure. Pride was legibly inscribed on their faces; and well that might be—for out of the swarming, throbbing multitude, they alone had been selected for that high distinction. And besides pride the discerning eye detected something else; for frequent contact with Kings and Queens, dukes and duchesses, provincial governors and their exalted partners, had infected them with marked imperial airs, which, of course, they wore lightly like a flower.

What passed within the pavilion must be left to a high-soaring imagination, which knoweth no bar and feareth no height. Entry there, was not for me. The garden-party, like all things earthly, ended—and I wended my way to my lodging, my mind in a ferment of thoughts and reflections.

Among the visitors who had come to Simla and whom I had the honour to meet—there were two who specially attracted and rivetted my attention: *Sir Faultless Omniscience* and *Lady Zulaikha Nurgis*. Sir Faultless was a member of the Indian Civil Service, and, as such, was one of the evanescent divinities of my country. He had passed through many stages of public service, and had now attained an eminence which is but rarely reached, even by the members of that *poorly-paid* service. He had ruled districts as Magistrate; he had issued *mandamus* as Judge; he had sent forth formidable edicts from the Secretariat; he had held *even* his chiefs in awe of him. His days of glory—though nearing their end—are not yet over. Homage and the incense of adulation are therefore his yet a while. This Sir Faultless I met at

breakfast, and fear seized me, and a chill ran through me, for I have always trembled at his name. Sir Faultless—so serious, so stern, so unbending in rectitude, so inflexible in virtue, so untiring in work—Sir Faultless, under the very same roof as the present writer—so entirely different from him; so supremely inadequate; so utterly steeped in faults. What strange things life offers! What startling contrasts! When I described Sir Faultless as serious and stern, it was no empty phraseology, but sober truth. Serious—for what else but serious could he be, when you remember the white man's burden which he has so nobly shouldered for years. Stern—what else but stern could he be, for has he not ruled the presumptuous equality-claiming blacks under overwhelming difficulties? Sir Faultless is, in reality, faultless to a fault. Among his virtues—countless as the stars overhead—there are some obtrusively prominent. The most noticeable is his passion for gossip. He is well-stocked with all the scandals of the black and white. He is acquainted with the failings, the weaknesses, the vices of all—known or unknown to him. You need only go to him to obtain materials to blacken a foe or exalt a friend. Some captious countrymen of his dubbed him 'a *gossiping old woman*.' But, dear reader, this is sheer malice. He is merely greedy of information, of knowledge, of light. Have I not often heard him hum to himself the famous line of the 'Mantuan Bard'? *Felix qui potuit rerum causas cognoscere*. In his great knowledge-seeking mind are carefully stored scraps of tittle-tattle, fairy-tales, spicy bits of gossip, savoury scandals of his time. He is an encyclopædia—the fullest and the completest ever known to man. I fear to think of the day when he will be no more. What priceless treasures will he carry with him to the grave—treasures, irrecoverable, lost for ever to humanity. But if the love of gossip is his striking virtue—no less conspicuous is the Socratic cast of his mind. He loves, in discussion,

to corner a friend, to humble a foe. Rarely does he agree with any one. Opposition is in the very composition of his nature. He, therefore, opposes and opposes and opposes for evermore. But in this combativeness many detect vanity and conceit, a furtive claim to unerring wisdom, infallibility, omniscience. Hence his name, Sir Faultless. Sir Faultless—is as may be imagined—a finished scholar and, as such, he always lays down the law. His is not a mere mortal's voice, but that of a high pontiff of learning—sure of immortality, secure of a place by the side of Socrates and Plato and Aristotle. India—the unappreciative India—unmindful of its *own* children of light and lore—is hardly a place for one like Sir Faultless—so varied in taste, so matchless in endowments. In saying goodbye to you, Sir Faultless, may I respectfully implore you to add Christian charity and Christian forgiveness to the list of your many shining virtues?

If Sir Faultless was the terror, Lady Nurgis was the joy of my life in Simla. She was a phantom of delight, a vision of perfect beauty. To such as she Hafiz must have addressed his amatory odes; Muhtashim his passionate panegyrics; Qaani his soul-entrancing poetry. I saw her for the first time on an exceptionally propitious night—the night of a dance—a night when youth and beauty met for riotous revelry. Delicately perfumed, endowed with nature's choicest gifts, adorned with art, a child of fortune—she swept into the room with a queenly air and superb assurance of her power and conquests. She rarely lifted her drooping eyes; she spoke in inaudible whispers; she played with her pencil; she looked abstracted, detached from her surroundings. She wore indeed, the appearance of a goddess in exile. I could see that, flung into the midst of mortals, she was ill at ease. She endured human companionship in silent but visible agony. She could—I saw—endure it no longer. She gently rose from her seat, and set out for Tennyson's lucid interspace of world and world where never creeps a cloud or moves a wind. Such was my

first vision of that goddess of love and youth and beauty! Since then I have paid my homage—for what mortal can refuse homage to her—from a distance, for I felt that mortal propinquity, mortal touch, would be distasteful, abhorrent to a nature so divine as hers. Ah! She must live with the flowers and nightingales. She must hold communion with the shining stars and the caressing moon. She is not of the earth—earthly. She must feed on poetry, and live on love—celestial poetry and divine love. May God grant this way-farer's prayer. Fair lady, may thy beauty never fade! May thy happiness never end! I kiss the hem of thy garment, and I bid thee farewell.

Can I part with Simla without referring to its Church, where the slumbering piety of its citizens finds a religious outlet after a whole week of unresting race for pleasure. Nor can I forget its stately Council-House, where Indians are taught lessons in Self-Government and free speech—fearless of the Indian Penal Code. Nor yet its waste-paper baskets, set up—at regular intervals—all along its fashionable walks.

My fortnight flew apace, and, with regret, we packed for our homeward journey. Simla not only ungrudgingly contributed to our happiness, but vastly added to and enriched our experiences of life.

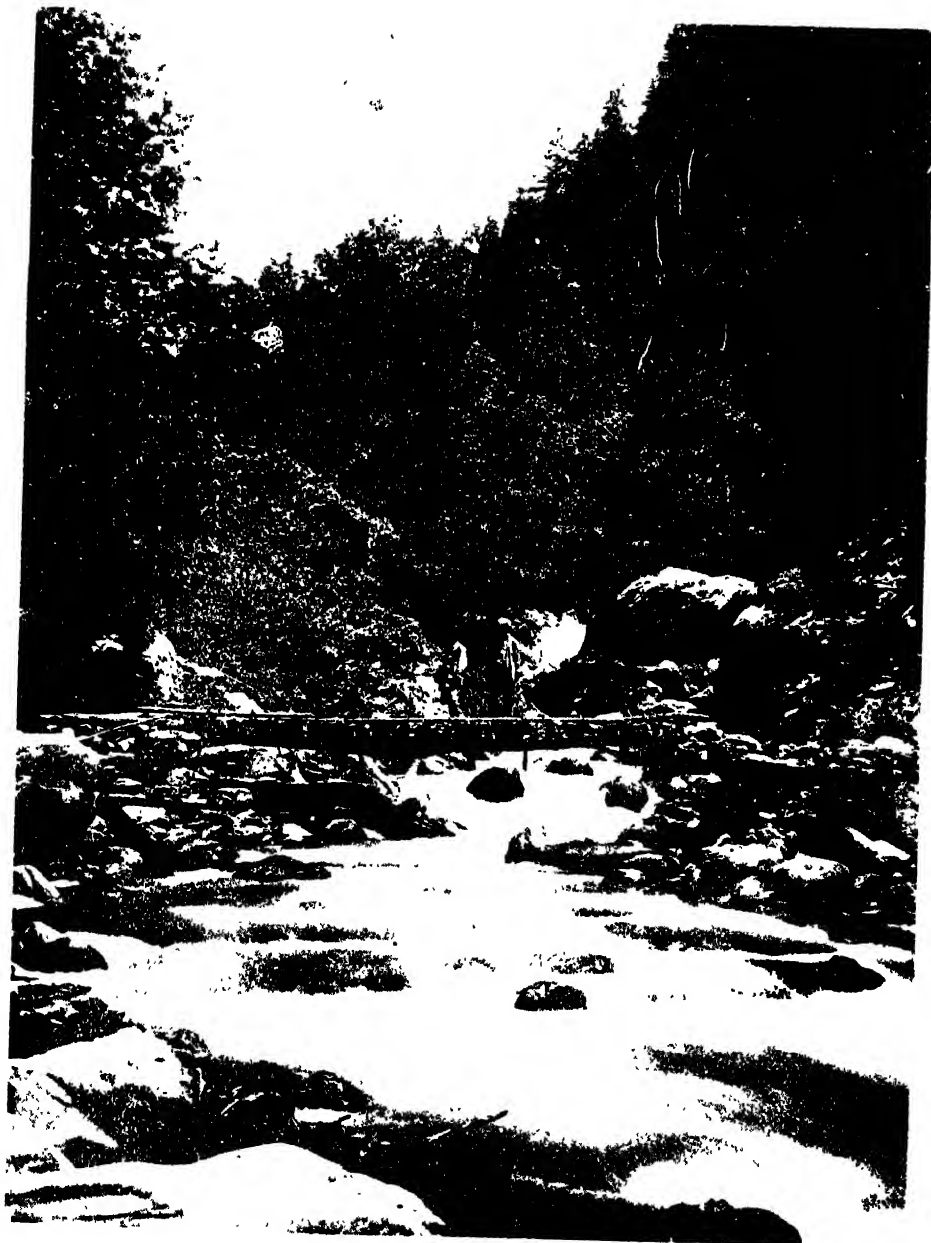
S. KRUDA BUKESH

**FLESH AND LOVE**

“ That flower grows in flower, O Maid,  
Is heard but nev’r seen !  
Then what in that thy lotus face  
The lotus eyes twain mean ?  
Death lurks in those thine shining eyes,  
Death rides upon those hills—thy breast,  
Death’s kiss is in thy scented breath  
And in thy smile destruction rests.  
Ah ! so, indeed flesh poets say  
But Love me turns another way  
Thine eyes—they shine with silent light  
From where all eyes are ever blind  
And life streams forth from out thy breast,  
Thy breath indraws to God the mind,  
Thy smile fulfils Life’s mystic end  
And souls with souls and soul’s God blend.

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

KASHMIR



Log Bridge on the Maruv-Sindh in Kashiwa





The Peaks of Brahma (Height 21,059 feet)



Snow Bridge over the Nallah at Zajinal in Kustwar



The Ice-Bound Himalaya : View from Top of the Sari Pass near Zaskari in Kachhar

## Reviews

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**The Freedom of the Seas in History, Law and Politics**, by Prof. Pitman B. Potter, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin, pp. 300, New York, Longmans Green & Co., \$2.50.

In every important discussion of international relations, problems of the freedom of the seas come to the forefront. This has been increasingly so with the growth of inter-communication and international interdependence of states. The subject is technical as well as intensely practical for every student of international law and politics. *The Freedom of the Seas* by Prof. Potter is at once a text book for college students and at the same time it is so lucid that a layman can digest the fundamentals of the subject without difficulty.

Prof. Potter has treated the subject historically showing the evolution of the doctrine of "the Freedom of the Seas," giving every consideration to opposing views on the subject, at a certain period and the modification of the view in the course of time, due to changing political and social conditions.

In ancient times, during the middle ages as well as in modern times, powerful naval powers often tried to secure actual control of the Seas, although at times they subscribed to the principles of "the freedom of the seas." "Athens ruled the waves in the interest of the freedom of the seas. Such an interpretation of sea-power is not unfamiliar to students of modern international relations" (page 24) although the Roman Digest and the Institutes held the idea of common public or free character of the sea which was really a product of Stoic philosophy. We find Roman imperialism dominated the seas to the exclusion of others. This change came supposedly with the change in Rome's position in the world and the growth and exercise of her sea power. Regarding the Roman domination of the seas, Prof. Potter remarks:

"Rome had swallowed up the independent states of the Mediterranean basin. She claimed a maritime dominion, took control by her naval power and exercised it freely and fully. But not with the free consent of free states. As a result of her conquest her sea dominion became a matter of imperial constitutional law and practice..... Roman maritime dominion was at once more powerful, less legalistic, and more romantic than that of Athens." (Pages 33-34.)

In the chapter on the Grotious-Sheldon controversy, discussing the merits of *Mare Liberum* and *Mare Clausum*, it has been made quite clear that although Grotious laid the foundations of the International Law of the future he was advocating the principle, to defend the right of the Dutch against the exclusion policy of the Portuguese and others in the matter of the East Indian trade. "Grotious, of the Protestant and revolutionary

Netherland denied the validity of the Papal donations to create maritime monopolies on behalf of the Catholic Monarchs" (page 59). Whereas the British idea was that the Dutch were encroaching upon the fishing rights of the British on the English coast; and they thus wanted to establish territorial jurisdiction over the seas. Sheldon frankly admitted that consideration of national safety, national policy, and national interest dictated the conclusion on the principal question. He was not concerned, as was Grotious with general international or general utility. The individual nation was the last word for him, as far as the legal rights were concerned. (Page 77.)

In various chapters the author has treated the topics of: "The Discussion of the Freedom of the Seas since 1650." The Law of Territorial Waters, Law of War at Sea. The Law regarding Piracy. Slave Trade and Navigation concisely covering the fundamental principles with rare thoroughness.

As to the effect of the World War on the International Law, Prof. Potter tries to show that the lack of effective organisation for the enforcement of International Law led the statesmen of all countries to violate international law with the understanding that it would be of advantage for them to do so and pay damages later on. This is exactly what is happening in internal affairs of states to-day. Pointing out the defects of the international law regarding Laws of Wars at Sea, at the eve of the World War he says,—“The chief defect of the law as it stood in 1914 was not so much uncertainty because of main principles, but uncertainty in detail, because of divergent political interest unreconciled in any compensated agreements, or sheer neglect to work out in detail, in anticipation of the actual event, the rules of the Law of Naval War.” (Page 166.) He further clarifies his position:

“The law of 1914 was defective partly by neglect, but mainly because of the appearance of state control of industry and commerce, military conscription, and means of submarines and aerial navigation, which rendered the principles, the assumptions, and the distinctions on which the law of 1914 rested questionable, uncertain, and, in certain cases, positively contrary to fact. In the face of the general character of modern war and of state control of food and other commodities and the distinction between absolute contraband, conditional contraband, and non-contraband became meaningless. For nearly all sea-borne commodities now serve the state in war and all increases in supplies for the civil population meant increases in released supplies for the army. The distinction between civilian and combatant population never has been recognised in cases of siege. Now a whole state is besieged. In the face of the modern credit system trading with the enemy is a broad term. In the face of the submarine, the rules relating to armed merchant vessels and the destruction of prizes are not at all what they were intended to be. It is in this sense that the war, or the conditions of warfare, the war in a mechanical sense, exercised an injurious influence upon pre-existing international law by revealing its defects or rendering it largely obsolete. It was not fundamentally the animosities of the belligerents, lack of organised

sanction, the inability of the nations to agree upon its terms, nor mere neglect which made the law of naval war as it stood in 1914 ineffective in the World War. It was the fact that a sudden change, and a change not only sudden but deep and far-reaching had come over the character of the nations (as social and political systems) and the nature (from a mechanical point of view) of war" (pages 167 and 168).

Prof. Potter has devoted two chapters in contrasting the conception of the freedom of the seas as championed by continental and maritime powers. The continental powers are in favour of restricting belligerent rights whereas the maritime powers are in favour of its extension. The reason for such an attitude is purely political and as problems of power of two states. The policy of naval or maritime states are of greater consequence and it has been described as follows:

"The position of the naval state with respect to belligerent rights at sea is relatively simple. Such a state anticipates that, in view of its worldwide interests, commercial and colonial, it is liable to be drawn into any general war which develops among the major powers. It anticipates that it will seldom be neutral in case of wars at sea. It realises, moreover, that it must itself wage war principally upon the sea, or overseas if it be called on to wage war at all. For opponents will lie overseas, will have to be attacked upon the sea or across the sea, by means of overseas expeditions supported by naval forces, and they will in turn attempt to attack by naval expeditions. It is accessible overseas, as the continental state is not accessible overland, by all other maritime states in the world; the surrounding sea if uncontrolled is a source of weakness, and open door to all naval powers. At the very least the maritime state will have to defend its coast from bombardment and invasion—this is the original reason for its large navy—; it may also have to defend its commercial vessels and neutral vessels coming to its ports from attacks at sea. Finally, having no large army and not contemplating the recruitment or use of an overseas expeditionary force in every case, such a state desires to have the means of attacking the enemy through his commerce, by capturing his commercial vessels, even sinking them, if need be, and, in general, of waging the war as vigorously as possible, on the sea against enemy commerce and shipping. The naval state is bound, therefore, to urge the retention and even expansion of all the historic belligerent rights at sea—visit and search, blockade, and the rest." (Pages 201-202.)

According to Prof. Potter the solution of the problems of the freedom of the seas lies in an international organization like the League of Nations in which the two great naval powers of Great Britain and the United States of America should participate with other nations, to establish certain principles based upon justice to all nations.

"The truth is that such a funding of sea authority could be obtained only by the means effective to give states a voice in writing the detail rules of sea law in the past: a balance power at sea.....Again, therefore, we return to the question

of justice: how is America to use the balance she has obtained? To compel Britain to surrender belligerent rights (ourselves giving them up also)? To join Britain in a monopoly of such authority? Both will be unjust and disastrous. The answer lies in Anglo-American co-operation and general international organization for the suppression of international war entirely, and the substitution therefor of international government in a League of Nations. Nothing less can serve all the interests involved. Britain cannot be allowed to go on writing the law of naval war and exercising its rights, nor we join her in that tyranny; but she cannot be asked to surrender that right unless relieved of the threat of war. Only by such action can loss and suffering from naval war be restricted and eliminated without unduly hampering naval states in their competition with military states" (pages 241-242).

The author tries to sum up the whole problem in the following way:

"Freedom from all authority at sea, maritime anarchy, is impossible from a practical viewpoint, and undesirable. Freedom from having the law of the sea dictated by one power, as by Britain, can come only by matching the naval strength of that power. That not all states can do; equality of naval strength among all states is impossible. But it can be done, and has been done, by America, more or less vicariously for all. To serve the freedom of the seas best that situation must be utilised at least to secure, through international conference, a definition of the law of territorial waters and the law of war at sea, conciliating as reasonably and fairly as possible non-combatant and neutral freedom at sea in time of war with the belligerent aims of naval states, so long as international naval war is permitted, then as a final step, our political, economic, and military or naval power must be used to secure such a definition and enforcement of national rights under a League of Nations as would make possible that suppression of international war, naval war included, without which full freedom of the seas is impossible"—(page 247).

Quite logically, according to Prof. Potter, there can be no full freedom of the seas unless all wars are banished. Can all wars be banished under the present world conditions, when international rivalries are rife and political enslavement of hundreds of millions of people in various parts of the world, especially in Asia, is countenanced as a legitimate right of strong nations and the League of Nations sanctioning such iniquity?





	Page.
Early Reminiscences of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee— The Hon'ble Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary, <i>Suriratna</i> , <i>Vidyaratnakar</i> , Kt., C.I.E., M.A., LL.D. ...	46
The Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee—Ziauddin Ahmad, C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc., Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh ...	54
The Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee—Sylvain Levi, D.Litt., Paris ...	55
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee—The Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw E. Wacha, Kt., Bombay ...	56
In Memoriam—Rai Bahadur A. C. Bose, M.A., Con- troller of Examinations, Calcutta University ...	57
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee—A. F. M. Abdul Ali, M.A., M.R.A.S., F.R.Hist.S., F.R.G.S., F.R.S L., Keeper of Imperial Records, Calcutta ...	73
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and the University Law College— Jyotiprasad Sarvadhikari, M.A., B.L., Professor, University Law College ...	75
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and the Punjab University—The Hon'ble Sir H. John Maynard, M.A., K.C I.E., C.S.I., I.C.S., Vice-Chancellor, The Punjab University ...	77
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee—Sir M. Visvesvaraya, K.C.I.E., D.Sc., L.C.E., M.I.C.E. ...	78
The Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee—The Hon'ble Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Aiyer, K.C.S.I., B.A., B.L., Madras ...	79
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ( <i>An Appreciation</i> )—S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A., B.C.L., Bar-at-Law, Lecturer, Calcutta University ...	85
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee : In Memoriam—Sir B. K. Bose, Kt., C.I.E., M.A., B.L., M.L.C., Vice-Chancellor, Nagpur University ...	91
In Memoriam : Sir Asutosh Mookerjee—Sarojkumar Das, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University ...	98
My Reminiscences of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee—R. Shama Sastri, B.A., Ph.D., Curator, Oriental Library, Mysore ...	113
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee : His Excellency Lord Lytton's Tributes ...	116
The Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ( <i>An Appreciation</i> )— Rev. Brother J. L. Maher, Principal, St. Joseph's College, Calcutta ...	124
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee—C. E. C. ...	127

The Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee—Rao Saheb Krishna-swamy Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., Professor, Madras University ... ..	130
Asutosh Mookerjee: Tribute of the Legislature ... ..	139
Some Reminiscences of the Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee—Radhakumud Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., Professor, Lucknow University ... ..	145
Asutosh Mookerjee—Rabindranath Tagore, N.L., D.Litt. ... ..	152
The Cultural Nationalism of the Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee—Radhakamal Mookerji, M.A., Ph.D., Professor, Lucknow University ... ..	154
Early Life of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee—Basantakumar Chatterjee, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University ... ..	164
References to the Mighty Dead ... ..	171
Lord Haldane as a Philosopher—Hiralal Haldar, M.A., Ph.D., Professor, Calcutta University ... ..	253
The Flower of Rajasthan—Rev. Francis A. Judd, M.A. ... ..	274
What is Shiva—Bepin Behari Newgie, M.A., Solicitor, Calcutta ... ..	290
Characteristics of the Tribes of Burma—Rai Bahadur B. A. Gupte, F.Z.S., Lecturer, Calcutta University ... ..	301
Youth ( <i>Poem</i> )—Dhirendranath Ghosh, M.A. ... ..	312
A Sketch of Burmese Music—Lily Strickland-Anderson ... ..	314
The Philosophy of Beauty ( <i>A Study Towards Synthesis</i> ) James H. Cousins, D.Lit., Madras ... ..	325
Scottish Chaucerian Poets, V.—Michael Macmillan, D.Litt., London ... ..	345
An Evening at the "Kastaharini Ghat," Monghyr—( <i>Poem</i> )—Rai Bahadur C. C. Mukerjee, District Magistrate, Purneah ... ..	351
Ramai Pandit—Benoy Chandra Sen, M.A., Professor, City College, Calcutta ... ..	353
The Rains ( <i>Poem</i> )—Lily S. Anderson ... ..	362
President Coolidge—Arthur Macdonald, Congressional Apartments, Washington ... ..	363
Sudās and the Bharatas—Kshetreschandra Chattopadhyay, M.A., Professor, Rangpur College ... ..	374
Sudās and the Bharatas ( <i>Rejoinder</i> )—Abinaschandra Das, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer, Calcutta University ... ..	378
One Lotus from Another ( <i>Poem</i> )—Post-Graduate ... ..	384
Wedded Love ( <i>Poem</i> )—Mohinimohan Chatterjee, M.A., B.L., Solicitor, Calcutta ... ..	385

	Page.
Tushāri—Kumar Gangananda Sinha, M.A., M.L.A. ...	386
The Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee—Ganesh Prasad, M.A., D.Sc., M.L.C., Hardinge Professor of Mathematics, Calcutta University ...	391
The American's Fatherland—Augustus Somerville ...	397
<b>REVIEWS :</b>	
Home and the School—J. G. B. ..	401
The Three Dervishes and other Persian Tales—J. G. B. ..	403
A Son at the Front—J. G. B. ...	403
<b>OURSELVES :</b>	
The New Vice-Chancellor ...	407
Mr. Bhupendra Nath Basu ...	407
Kamala Lectureship ..	408
Dr. J. C. Kamesvara Ray ..	408
Dr. Jogendrachandra Bardhan ...	409
Tagore Law Professor ...	410
Tagore Law Lectures ..	411
Dr. Radhakumud Mookerjee ..	411
Mr. R. Swaminath Aiyer ..	411
Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghosh Lecturer ..	411
Jubilee Research Prize ..	412
Matriculation Examination ..	412
I.A. Examination ...	413
I.Sc. Examination ...	413
B.A. Examination ...	413
B.Sc. Examination ...	413
L.T. Examination ...	414
B.T. Examination ..	414
I.E. Examination ...	414
B.E. Examination ...	414
Preliminary Scientific M.B. Examination ..	415
First M.B. Examination ...	415
Final M.B. Examination ...	415
The Mymensingh Ballads ...	415
A Correction ...	416
Vedantism—N. K. Dutt, M.A., Ph.D., Professor, Chittagong College ...	417
The Gold Exchange Standard During and After the War—B. R. Chatterjee, M.A., Professor, Khalsa College, Amritsar ...	431
A Rationalistic View of Poesy, II—K. C. Sen, Deputy Magistrate ( <i>Retd.</i> ) Madaripur ...	443
Plea for Sociological Statistics—B. Ramachandra Rau, M.A., L.T., Lecturer, Calcutta University ...	455

	Page.
Indian Philosophy—R. D. Ranade, M.A., Professor Fergusson College, Poona ... ..	465
The Flower of Rajasthan—Rev. Francis A Judd, M.A...	472
The Juvenile Court in Calcutta—Mohinimohan Chatterjee, M.A., B.L., Solicitor, Calcutta ...	481
The Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee—Taraknath Das, Ph.D., New York ... ..	488
Our Mortal Breath ( <i>Poem</i> )—Post-Graduate ...	492
The Charlottenburg Technical High School—P. B. ...	493
Satyendranath Tagore : His Letters ... ..	495
Pastorale ( <i>Poem</i> )—Lily S. Anderson ... ..	506
Is a Residential University Suitable for Patna—S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A., B.C.L., Bar-at-Law, Lecturer, Calcutta University ... ..	507
The Kautiliya Arthasastra ( <i>A Reply</i> ) Narendranath Law, M.A., Ph.D., Hony. Lecturer, Calcutta Univer- sity ... ..	512
Rastakhiz—I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., Ph D., Pro- fessor, Calcutta University ..	522
Pastoral Bengal—Lily Strickland-Anderson ...	536
The Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee— Rai Bahadur G. C. Ghosh ... ..	547
REVIEWS :	
“ Ancient Wings ” and “ Grey Clouds and White Showers ” —J. G. B. ... ..	549
The Chilswell Book of English Poetry—J. G. B. ...	552
The Sutta-Nipāta—Sailendranath Mitra ..	554
India in World Politics—S. N. S. ... ..	555
OURSELVES :	
The Late Mr. Bhupendranath Basu ... ..	557
Dr. Bhagabat Kumar Goswami ... ..	557
Preliminary Examination in Law ... ..	558
Intermediate Examination in Law ... ..	558
Final Examination in Law ... ..	558
The Mymensingh Ballads ... ..	558
The Third Oriental Conference ... ..	568

*List of Contributors and their Articles.*

<i>A. B. England :</i>			
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ( <i>Poem</i> )	...	...	34
<i>A. B. England :</i>			
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ( <i>Poem</i> )	...	...	40

	Page.
<i>Ahmad, Ziauddin, C.I.E., M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc. :</i>	
The Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	54
<i>Aiyangar, Rao Saheb Krishnaswamy, M.A., Ph.D. :</i>	
The Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	130
<i>Aiyer, The Hon'ble Sir P. S. Sivaswamy, K.C.S.I. :</i>	
The Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	79
<i>Albers, A. Christina :</i>	
The Great Departed ...	1
<i>Ali, A. F. M. Abdul, M.A., M.R.A.S. :</i>	
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	73
<i>Bose, Rai Bahadur A. C., M.A. :</i>	
In Memoriam ...	57
<i>Bose, Sir B. K., Kt., C.I.E. :</i>	
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee : In Memoriam ...	91
<i>C. E. C. :</i>	
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	127
<i>Chatterjee, Basantakumar, M.A. :</i>	
Early Life of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	164
<i>Chatterjee, B. R., M.A. :</i>	
The Gold Exchange Standard During and After the War ...	431
<i>Chatterjee, Mohinimohan, M.A., B.L. :</i>	
Wedded Love ...	385
The Juvenile Court in Calcutta ...	481
<i>Chattopadhyaya, Kshetreschandra, M.A. :</i>	
Sudās and the Bharatas ...	374
<i>Cousins, James H., D.Litt., Madras :</i>	
The Philosophy of Beauty ( <i>A Study towards Synthesis</i> ) ...	325
<i>D'Santos, A. C. :</i>	
The Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	26
<i>Das, Abinaschandra, M.A., Ph.D. :</i>	
Sudās and the Bharatas ( <i>Rejoinder</i> ) ...	378
<i>Das, Sarojkumar, M.A. :</i>	
In Memoriam : Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	98
<i>Das, Taraknath, Ph.D., New York :</i>	
The Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	488
<i>Dutt, N. K., M.A., Ph.D. :</i>	
Vedantism ...	417
<i>Ghosh, Dhirendranath, M.A. :</i>	
Youth ( <i>Poem</i> ) ...	312
<i>Ghosh, Rai Bahadur G. C. :</i>	
The Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	547

	Page.
<i>Gupte, Rai Bahadur B.A., Calcutta :</i>	
Characteristics of the Tribes of Burma ...	301
<i>Haldar, Hiralal, M.A., Ph.D. :</i>	
Lord Haldane as a Philosopher ...	253
<i>Hartog, P. J., C.I.E., M.A., B.Sc. :</i>	
My Reminiscences ...	36
<i>Jha, Mahamahopadhyaya Ganganath, M.A., D.Litt. :</i>	
The Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	12
<i>Judd, Rev. Francis A., M.A. :</i>	
The Flower of Rajasthan ...	274, 472
<i>Khuda Bukhsh, S., M.A., B.C.L. :</i>	
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ( <i>An Appreciation</i> ) ...	85
Is a Residential University Suitable for Patna ...	507
<i>Law, Narendranath, M.A., Ph.D. :</i>	
The Kautiliya Arthasastra ( <i>A Reply</i> ) ...	512
<i>Levi, Sylvain, D.Litt., Paris :</i>	
The Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	55
<i>Macdonald, Arthur, Congressional Apartments, Washington :</i>	
President Coolidge ...	363
<i>Macmillan, Michael, D.Litt., London :</i>	
Scottish Chaucerian Poets, V ...	345
<i>Maher, Rev. Brother, J. L. :</i>	
The Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	124
<i>Maitra, Shishirkumar, M.A., Ph.D. :</i>	
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and the Calcutta University ...	17
<i>Maynard, The Hon'ble Sir H. John, M.A., K.C.I.E. :</i>	
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and the Punjab University ...	77
<i>Mookerjee, Sir R. N., K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O. :</i>	
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	7
<i>Mookerjee, Radhakumud, M.A., Ph.D. :</i>	
Some Reminiscences of the Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	145
<i>Mookerjee, Radhakamal, M.A., Ph.D. :</i>	
The Cultural Nationalism of the Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	154
<i>Mukherjee, Rai Bahadur C. C. :</i>	
An Evening at the <i>Kastaharini Ghat</i> , Monghyr ( <i>Poem</i> ) ...	351
<i>Newgie, Bepin Behari, M.A. :</i>	
What is Shiva ...	290
<i>Oaten, E. F., M.A., LL.B. :</i>	
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	29

	Page.
<i>P. B. :</i>	
The Charlottenburg Technical High School ...	493
<i>Paranjpye, R. P., M.A., D.Sc. :</i>	
India's Intellectual Giant ...	9
<i>Post-Graduate :</i>	
A. M. ( <i>Poem</i> ) ...	35
One Lotus from Another ( <i>Poem</i> ) ...	384
Our Mortal Breath ( <i>Poem</i> ) ...	492
<i>Prasad, Ganesh, M.A., D.Sc., M.L.C. :</i>	
The Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	391
<i>Radhakrishnan, S., M.A. :</i>	
The Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	31
<i>Ranade, R. D., M.A. :</i>	
Indian Philosophy ...	165
<i>Rau, B. Ramchandra, M.A., L.T. :</i>	
Plea for Sociological Statistics ...	455
<i>Ray, Sir P. C., Kt., C.I.E., D.Sc., Ph.D. :</i>	
The Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	33
<i>Sadler, Sir Michael, E., C.B., K.C.S.I., Litt.D., LL.D. :</i>	
The Great Indian—Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	5
<i>Sarvadhikary, The Hon'ble Sir Devaprasad, Kt., C.I.E., M.A., LL.D. :</i>	
Early Reminiscences of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	46
<i>Sarvadhikari, Jyotiprasad, M.A., B.L. :</i>	
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee and the University Law College ...	75
<i>Sen, Benoychandra, M.A. :</i>	
Ramai Pandit ...	353
<i>Sen, K. C., Madaripur :</i>	
A Rationalistic View of Poesy, II ...	443
<i>Shama Sastri, R., B.A., Ph.D. :</i>	
My Reminiscences of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	113
<i>Sinha, Kumar Gangananda, M.A., M.L.A. :</i>	
Tushari ...	386
<i>Somerville, Augustus :</i>	
The American's Fatherland ...	397
<i>Strickland-Anderson, Lily :</i>	
A Sketch of Burmese Music ...	314
The Rains ( <i>Poem</i> ) ...	362
Pastorale ( <i>Poem</i> ) ...	506
<i>Tagore, Rabindranath, N.L., D.Litt. :</i>	
Asutosh Mookerjee ...	152

<i>Taraporewala, I. J. S., B.A., Ph.D. :</i>	
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ( <i>Some Personal Touches</i> ) ...	42
<i>Urquhart, Rev. W. S., M.A., D.Phil. :</i>	
The Late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	14
<i>Visvesvaraya, Sir M., K.C.I.E., D.Sc., L.C.E., M.I.C.E.</i>	
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	78
<i>Wacha, The Hon'ble Sir Dinshaw. E., Kt. :</i>	
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	56
<i>Wheler, His Excellency Sir Henry, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E. :</i>	
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ...	41

*Index of Articles.*

A. M. ( <i>Poem</i> ) ...	35
Arthasastra, The Kautiliya ( <i>A Reply</i> ) ...	512
Beauty, The Philosophy of ( <i>A Study towards Synthesis</i> )	325
Bengal, Pastoral ...	536
Breath, Our Mortal ( <i>Poem</i> ) ...	492
Burmese Music, A Sketch of ...	314
Coolidge, President ...	363
Departed, The Great ...	1
Evening at the <i>Kastaharini Ghat</i> , Monghyr, An ( <i>Poem</i> )	351
Fatherland, The American's ...	397
Gold Exchange Standard During and After the War, The	431
Haldane as a Philosopher, Lord ...	253
Intellectual Giant, India's ...	9
Juvenile Court in Calcutta, The ...	481
Lotus from Another, One ( <i>Poem</i> ) ...	384
Love, Wedded ( <i>Poem</i> ) ...	385
Memoriam, In ...	57
Mighty Dead, References to the ...	171
Mookerjee, A Great Indian—Sir Asutosh ...	5
Mookerjee, Sir Asutosh ...	7
Mookerjee, The Late Sir Asutosh ...	12
Mookerjee, The Late Sir Asutosh ...	14
Mookerjee, Sir Asutosh and the Calcutta University ...	17
Mookerjee, The Late Sir Asutosh ...	26
Mookerjee, Sir Asutosh ...	29
Mookerjee, The Late Sir Asutosh ...	31
Mookerjee, The Late Sir Asutosh ...	33
Mookerjee, Sir Asutosh ( <i>Poem</i> ) ...	34
Mookerjee, Sir Asutosh ( <i>Poem</i> ) ...	40



Mookerjee, Sir Asutosh	...	...	...	41
Mookerjee, Sir Asutosh ( <i>Some Personal Touches</i> )	...	...	...	42
Mookerjee, Early Reminiscences of Sir Asutosh	...	...	...	46
Mookerjee, The Late Sir Asutosh	...	...	...	54
Mookerjee, The Late Sir Asutosh	...	...	...	55
Mookerjee, Sir Asutosh	...	...	...	56
Mookerjee, Sir Asutosh	...	...	...	73
Mookerjee, Sir Asutosh and the University Law College	...	...	...	75
Mookerjee, Sir Asutosh and the Punjab University	...	...	...	77
Mookerjee, Sir Asutosh	...	...	...	78
Mookerjee, The Late Sir Asutosh	...	...	...	79
Mookerjee, Sir Asutosh ( <i>An Appreciation</i> )	...	...	...	85
Mookerjee, Sir Asutosh : In Memoriam	...	...	...	91
Mookerjee, Sir Asutosh : In Memoriam	...	...	...	98
Mookerjee, My Reminiscences of Sir Asutosh	...	...	...	113
Mookerjee, Sir Asutosh : His Excellency Lord Lytton's Tributes	...	...	...	116
Mookerjee, The Late Sir Asutosh ( <i>An Appreciation</i> )	...	...	...	124
Mookerjee, Sir Asutosh	...	...	...	127
Mookerjee, The Late Sir Asutosh	...	...	...	130
Mookerjee, Sir Asutosh, Tributes of the Legislature	...	...	...	139
Mookerjee, Some Reminiscences of the Late Sir Asutosh	...	...	...	145
Mookerjee, Asutosh	...	...	...	152
Mookerjee, The Cultural Nationalism of the Late Sir Asutosh	...	...	...	154
Mookerjee, Early Life of Sir Asutosh	...	...	...	164
Mookerjee, The Late Sir Asutosh	...	...	...	391
Mookerjee, The Late Sir Asutosh	...	...	...	488
Mookerjee, The Late Sir Asutosh	...	...	...	547
Ourselves	...	...	...	407, 557
Pastorale ( <i>Poem</i> )	...	...	...	506
Philosophy, Indian	...	...	...	465
Poesy, A Rationalistic View of, II	...	...	...	443
Poets, Scottish Chaucerian, V	...	...	...	345
Rains, The ( <i>Poem</i> )	...	...	...	362
Rajasthan, The Flower of	...	...	...	274, 472
Ramai Pandit	...	...	...	353
Rastākhiz	...	...	...	522
Reminiscences, My	...	...	...	36
Residential University Suitable for Patna, Is a	...	...	...	507
Reviews	...	...	...	401, 549
Satyendranath Tagore, His Letters	...	...	...	495

	Page.
Shiva, What is ... ..	290
Statistics, Plea for Sociological ... ..	455
Sudās and the Bharatas ... ..	374
Sudās and the Bharatas ( <i>Rejoinder</i> ) ... ..	378
Technical High School, The Charlottenburg ... ..	493
Tribes of Burma, Characteristics of the ... ..	301
Tushāri ... ..	386
Vedantism ... ..	417
Youth ( <i>Poem</i> ) ... ..	312

*List of Illustrations.*

* Sir Asutosh Mookerjee ( <i>In colours</i> ) ... ..	1
Sir Asutosh as Vice-Chancellor, 1914 ... ..	8
Sir Asutosh and the Recipients of Honorary Degrees at the Special Convocation, December 17, 1921 ... ..	16
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, February, 1921 ... ..	24
Sir Asutosh and the Sadler Commission ... ..	32
The Marble Bust of Sir Asutosh at the Durbhanga Buildings ... ..	56
Residence of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Russa Road North ... ..	56
Sir Asutosh's Father—The Late Dr. Gangaprasad Mookerjee ... ..	64
* Sir Asutosh's Mother ... ..	72
* Sir Asutosh in His 24th year ... ..	80
Sir Asutosh at Buxar During Total Solar Eclipse ... ..	88
Sir Asutosh in His Library ... ..	96
Sir Asutosh Receiving the Relics of the Buddha from Lord Ronaldshay in Government House ... ..	104
On the Eve of His Retirement ... ..	112
* Sir Asutosh and the Hon'ble Judges of the High Court ... ..	120
* Sir Asutosh as Chief Justice ... ..	128
* Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I. ... ..	136
"The Bengal Tiger" ... ..	144
* Sir Asutosh in 1922 ... ..	160
* Sir Asutosh's Eldest Daughter ... ..	168
The Last Remains at the Senate House ... ..	184
Our Vice-Chancellor ... ..	253
From the Land of the Pagodas ... ..	314
The Hon'ble Sir Ewart Greaves, Kt., as a Judge of the High Court ... ..	407

## CONTENTS

	Page.
The Worship of Siva ( <i>in colours</i> ) ...	417
Rural Bengal ...	536
The Late Mr. Bhupendranath Basu ...	556

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### *Corrigenda.*

In the *Ourselves* section, page 557, line 8 (September, 1924) please read *fain* instead of *feign*.









